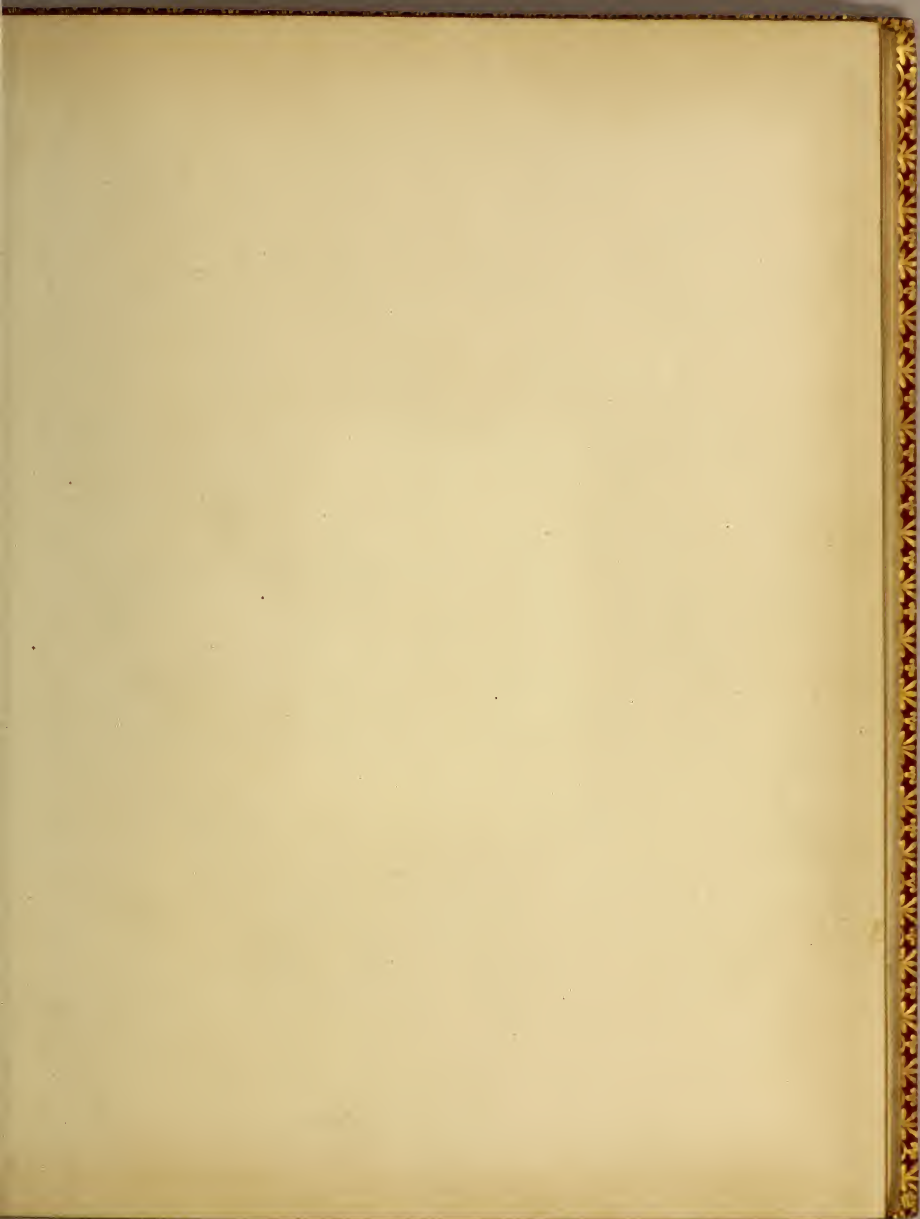


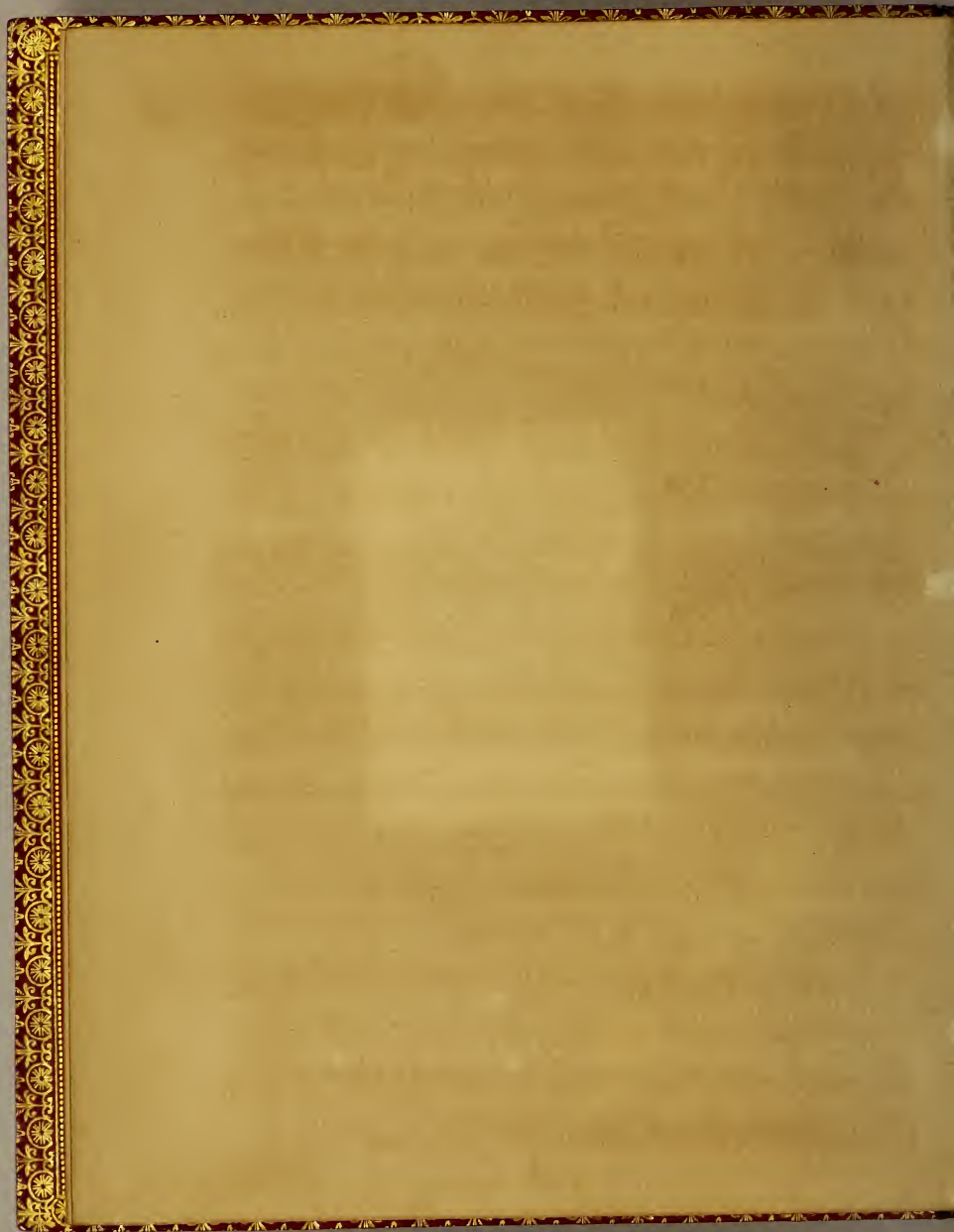






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THE
BLOVDY TENENT,
of PERSECUTION, for cause of
CONSCIENCE, discussed, in
A Conference betweene
TRVTH and PEACE.

VVHO,

In all tender Affection, present to the High
Court of *Parliament*, (as the *Result* of
their *Discourse*) these, (amongst other
Passages) of highest consideration.



Printed in the Year 1644.



248
First, That the blood of so many hundred thousand souls of *Protestants* and *Papists*, spilt in the *Wars* of present and former *Ages*, for their respective *Consciences*, is not required nor accepted by *Iesus Christ* the *Prince of Peace*.

Secondly, *Pregnant Scriptures* and *Arguments* are throughout the *Worke* proposed against the *Doctrine* of *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*.

Thirdly, *Satisfactorie Answers* are given to *Scriptures*, and *objections* produced by *Mr. Calvin*, *Beza*, *Mr. Cotton*, and the *Ministers* of the *New English Churches*, and others former and later, tending to prove the *Doctrine* of *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*.

Fourthly, The *Doctrine* of *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*, is proved guilty of all the blood of the *Soules* crying for vengeance under the *Altar*.

Fifthly, All *Civill States* with their *Officers* of justice in their respective *constitutions* and *administrations* are proved essentially *Civill*, and therefore not *Judges*, *Governours* or *Defendours* of the *Spirituell* or *Christian* state and *Worship*.

Sixly, It is the will and command of *God*, that (since the coming of his Sonne the *Lord Iesus*) a permission of the most *Paganish*, *Jewish*, *Turkish* or *Antichristian* consciences and worships, bee granted to all men in all *Nations* and *Countries*: and they are onely to bee fought against with that *Sword* which is only (in *Soule matters*) able to conquer, to wit, the *Sword* of *Gods Spirit*, the *Word* of *God*.

Seventhly, The state of the Land of *Israel*, the *Kings* and people thereof in *Peace* & *War*, is proved figurative and ceremoniall, and no patterne nor president for any *Kingdom* or *civill state* in the world to follow.

Eightly, *God* requireth not an uniformity
of

of Religion to be *inacted* and *inforced* in any
civill state; which *inforced uniformity* (soo-
ner or later) is the greatest occasion of *civill*
Warre, *ravishing of conscience*, *persecution*
of *Christ Iesus* in his servants, and of the
hypocrisie and *destruction* of millions of souls.

Ninthly, In holding an *inforced uniformity*
of Religion in a *civill state*, we must
necessarily *disclaime* our desires and hopes
of the *Jewes conversion* to *Christ*.

Tenthly, An *inforced uniformity* of Re-
ligion throughout a *Nation* or *civill state*,
confounds the *Civill and Religious*, denies
the principles of *Christianity* and *civility*,
and that *Iesus Christ* is come in the *Flesh*.

Eleventhly, The permission of other
consciences and *worships* then a state profes-
seth, only can (according to God) procure
a firme and lasting *peace*, (*good assurance*
being taken according to the *wisdome* of the
civill state for *uniformity* of *civill obedience*
from all sorts.)

Twelfthly, lastly, true *civility* and *Christianity* may both flourish in a *State* or *Kingdome*, notwithstanding the *permission* of *divers* and *contrary consciences*, either of *Jew* or *Gentile*.

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T.O

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE,
both Houses of the High Court of
PARLIAMENT.

Right Honourable and Renowned Patriots :

NEXT to the saving of your own *soules* (in the lamentable *shipwrack* of *Mankind*) your taske (as *Christians*) is to save the *Soules*, but as *Magistrates*, the *Bodies* and *Goods* of others.

Many excellent *Discourses* have been presented to your *Fathers* hands and Yours in former and present *Parliaments* : I shall be humbly bold to say, that (in what concerns your duties as *Magistrates*, towards others) a more necessary and reasonable debate was never yet presented.

Two things your *Honours* here may please to view (in this Controversie of *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*) beyond what's extant.

First the whole *Body* of this *Controversie* form'd & pitch'd in true *Battalia*.

Secondly (although in respect of my selfe it be *impar confressus*, yet in the power of that *God* who is *Maximus in Minimis*, Your Honours shall see the Controversie is discussed with men as able as most, eminent for *abilitie* and *pietie*, Mr. *Cotton*, and the *New-English Ministers*.

When the *Prophets* in Scripture have given their *Coats of Armes* and *Escutcheons* to *Great Men*, Your Honours know the *Babylonian Monarch* hath the *Lyon*, the *Persian* the *Beare*, the *Grecian* the *Leopard*, the *Romane* a compound of the former 3. most strange and dreadfull, *Dan. 7.*

Their

Their oppressing,plundring,ravishing,murthering, not only of the *bodies*, but the *soules* of Men are large explaining *commentaries* of such similitudes.

Your *Honours* have been famous to the end of the World for your unparallel'd *wisdome*, *courage*, *justice*, *mercie*, in the vindicating your Civill *Lives*, *Liberties*, &c. Yet let it not be grievous to your *Honours* thoughts to ponder a little, why all the *Prayers* and *Teares* and *Fastings* in this Nation have not pierc'd the *Heavens*, and quench'd these *Flames*, which yet who knowes how far they'll spread, and when they'll out!

Your *Honours* have broke the jawes of the *Oppressour*, and taken the prey out of their Teeth (*Iob. 29.*) For which *Act* I believe it hath pleased the most High *God* to set a *Guard* (not only of Trained men, but) of mighty *Angels*, to secure you sitting, and the Citie.

I feare we are not *pardoned*, though *reprieved*: O that there may be a lengthning of *Londons* tranquillitie, of the *Parliament*, safetie, by *mercy* to the *poore*! Dan. 4.

Right Honourable, *Soule yokes*, *Soule oppressions*, *plundrings*, *ravishings*, &c. are of a *crimson* and *deepest dye*, and I believe the chiefe of *Englands* sins, unstopping the Viols of *England*. present sorrowes.

This glasse presents your *Honours* with *Arguments* from *Religion*, *Reason*, *Experience*, all proving that the greatest yoakes yet lying upon *English necks*, (the *peoples* and *Your own*) are of a *spirituall* and *soule* nature.

All former *Parliaments* have changed these yoakes according to their *consciencs* (*Popish* or *Protestant*) 'Tis now your *Honours* turne at *helme*, and (as your *task*; so I hope your *resolution*, not to change (for that is but to turne the wheele, which another *Parliament*, and the very next may turne againe:) but to ease the Subjects and Your selves from a *yoake* (as was once spoke in a case not unlike *Act 15.*) which neither You nor your Fathers were ever able to beare.

Most

Most Noble Senators, Your Fathers (whose seats You fill) are mouldred, and mouldring their *braines*, their *tongues*, &c. to *ashes* in the pit of *rottenesse*: They and You must shortly (together with two *worlds* of men) appeare at the great *Barre*: It shall then be no griefe of heart that you have now attended to the *cries* of *Soules*, *thousands oppressed*, *millions ravished* by the *Acts* and *Statutes* concerning *Soules*, not yet repealed.

Of *Bodies impoverished*, *imprisoned*, &c. for their *soules* be-
liefe, yea slaughtered on heapes for *Religions* controversies in the *Warres* of present and former Ages.

Notwithstanding the successe of later times, (wherein
“ sundry opinions have been hatched about the subject of *Re-*
“ *ligion*) a man may clearly discern with his eye, and as it
“ were touch with his finger that according to the verity of
“ holy Scriptures, &c. mens *consciences* ought in no sort to be
“ violated, urged or constrained. And whensoever men have
“ attempted any thing by this violent course, whether openly
“ or by secret meanes, the issue hath beene pernicious, and the
“ cause of great and *wonderfull innovations* in the principallest
“ and mightiest *Kingdomes* and *Countries*, &c.

The famous
saying of a late
King of Bohe-
mia.

It cannot be denied to be a pious and prudentiall *act* for
Your *Honours* (according to your conscience) to call for the
advice of faithfull *Councillours* in the high debates concerning
Your owne, and the *soules* of others.

Yet let it not be imputed as a *crime* for any *suppliant* to the
God of *Heaven* for You, if in the humble sense of what their
soules beleeve, they powre forth (amongst others) these three
requests at the *Throne* of *Grace*.

First, That neither Your *Honours*, nor those excellent and
worthy persons, whose advice you seek, limit the holy *One* of
Israel to their *apprehensions*, *debates*, *conclusions*, rejecting or
neglecting the humble and faithfull suggestions of any, though
as base as spittle and clay, with which sometimes *Christ Iesus*
opens the *eyes* of them that are borne blinde.

Essay of Religion.

Secondly, That the present and future generations of the Sons of Men may never have cause to say that such a *Parliament* (as *England* never enjoyed the like) should modell the worship of the living, eternall and invisible God after the *Bias* of any earthly interest, though of the highest concernment under the Sunne: And yet, saith that learned Sir *Francis Bacon* (how ever otherwise perswaded, yet thus he confesseth:) " Such as " hold *pressure* of *Conscience*, are guided therein by some private interests of their owne.

Thirdly, What ever way of worshipping God Your owne Consciences are perswaded to walke in, yet (from any bloody act of violence to the consciences of others) it may bee never told at *Rome* nor *Oxford*, that the *Parliament* of *England* hath committed a greater rape, then if they had forced or ravished the bodies of all the women in the *World*.

And that *Englands Parliament* (so famous throughout all Europe and the World) should at last turne *Papists*, *Prelatists*, *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, *Socinians*, *Familists*, *Antinomians*, &c. by confirming all these sorts of Consciences, by Civill force and violence to their Consciences.

It is rarely
seen that ever
persons were
persecuted for
their consci-
ence, but by
such persecuti-
on they were
confirmed and
hardened in
their consci-
ence.

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To

To every Courteous Reader.

WHile I plead the Cause of *Truth* and *Innocencie* against the bloody *Doctrine* of *Persecution* for cause of *conscience*, I judge it not unfit to give *alarme* to my selfe, and all men to prepare to be *persecuted* or hunted for cause of *conscience*.

Whether thou standest charged with 10 or but 2 *Talents*, if thou huntst any for cause of *conscience*, how canst thou say thou followest the *Lambe* of *God* who so abhor'd that practice?

If *Paul*, if *Iesus Christ* were present here at *London*, and the *question* were proposed what *Religion* would they approve of: The *Papists*, *Prelatists*, *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, &c. would each say, Of mine, of mine.

But put the second question, if one of the severall sorts should by *major vote* attaine the *Sword* of *steele*: what weapons doth *Christ Iesus* authorize them to fight with in His cause? Doe not all men hate the *persecutor*, and every *conscience* true or false complaine of cruelty, tyranny? &c.

Two *mountaines* of crying *guilt* lye heavie upon the backes of All that name the name of *Christ* in the eyes of *Jewes*, *Turkes* and *Pagans*.

First, The blasphemies of their *Idolatrous inventions*, *superstitions*, and most *unchristian conversations*.

Secondly, The bloody irreligious and inhumane *oppressions* and *destructions* under the maske or vaile of the Name of *Christ*, &c.

O how like is the *jealous Jehovah*, the consuming fire to end these present *slaughters* in a greater slaughter of the holy *Witnesses*? *Rev. 11.*

Six yeares preaching of so much *Truth* of *Christ* (as that time afforded in *K. Edwards* dayes) kindles the flames of *Q. Maries* bloody *persecutions*.

Who can now but expect that after so many scores of yeares preaching and professing of more *Truth*, and amongst so many great contentions amongst the very best of *Protestants*, a fierie furnace should be heat, and who sees not now the *fires* kindling?

I confesse I have little hopes till those flames are over, that this Discourse against the doctrine of *persecution* for cause of conscience should passe curreant (I say not amongst the *Wolves* and *Lions*, but even amongst the *Sheep* of *Christ* themselves) yet *liberavi animam meam*, I have not hid within my breast my soules belief: And although sleeping on the bed either of the pleasures or profits of sinne thou thinkest thy conscience bound to sinne at him that dares to waken thee? Yet in the middest of all these *civill* and *spirituall Wars* (I hope we shall agree in these particulars.)

First, how ever the proud (upon the advantage of an higher earth or ground) or'elooke the poore and cry out *Schismatickes*, *Hereticks*, &c. shall *blasphemers* and *seducers* scape unpunished? &c. Yet there is a sorer punishment in the *Gospel* for despising of *Christ* then *Moses*, even when the despiser of *Moses* was put to death without mercie, *Heb.* 10. 28, 29. He that beleeveth not shall bee damned, *Marke* 16. 16.

Secondly, what ever Worship, Ministry, Ministrations, the best and purest are practised without *faith* and true perswasion that they are the true institutions of God, they are sin, sinfull worships, Ministries, &c. And however in *Civill* things we may be servants unto men, yet in *Divine* and *Spirituall* things the poorest *peasant* must disdain the service of the highest *Prince*: Be ye not the servants of men, *1 Cor.* 14.

Thirdly, without search and triall no man attaines this *faith* and right perswasion, *1 Thes.* 5. Try all things.

In vaine have *English Parliaments* permitted *English Bibles* in the poorest *English* houses, and the simplest man or woman to search the Scriptures, if yet against their soules perswasion from the Scripture, they should be forced (as if they lived in *Spaine* or *Rome* it selfe without the sight of a *Bible*) to beleave as the Church beleeves.

Fourthly; having tried, we must hold fast, *1 Thessal.* 5. upon the losse of a Crowne, *Revel.* 13. we must not let goe for all the fleabittings of the present afflictions, &c. having bought Truth deare, we must not sell it cheape, not the least graine of it for the whole World, no not for the saving of Soules, though our owne most precious; least of all for the bitter sweetning of a little vanishing pleasure.

For a little puffe of credit and reputation from the changeable
breath of uncertaine sons of men.

For the broken bagges of Riches on Eagles wings : For a
dreaime of these, any or all of these which on our death-bed vanish
and leave tormenting stings behinde them : Oh how much better
is it from the love of Truth, from the love of the Father of lights,
from whence it comes, from the love of the Sonne of God, who
is the way and the Truth, to say as he, *John* 18.37. For this end
was I borne, and for this end came I into the World that I might
beare witnesse to the Truth.



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SCRIPTURES AND REASONS

written long since by a *Witnesse* of Iesus

Christ, close *Prisoner* in *Newgate*, against *Persecution* in cause of *Conscience*; and sent some while since to Mr. *Cotton*, by a Friend who thus wrote:

John Carter Brown
Library

*In the multitude of Councillours there is safety :
It is therefore humbly desired to be instructed in this point : viz.*

*Whether Persecution for cause of Conscience,
be not against the Doctrine of Iesus Christ the King of
Kings. The Scriptures and Reasons are these.*

Because Christ commandeth that the *Tares* and *Wheat* (which some understand are those that walke in the *Truth*, and those that walke in *Lies*) should be *let alone* in the *World*, and not *plucked up* untill the *Harvest*, which is the end of the *World*, *Matth.* 13. 30. 38. &c.

The same commandeth *Matth.* 15. 14. that they that are *Blinde* (as some interpret, led on in false *Religion*, and are offended with him for teaching true *Religion*) should be *let alone*, referring their punishment unto their falling into the *Ditch*.

Againe, *Luke* 9. 54. 55. hee reproveth his *Disciples* who would have had *Fire* come downe from Heaven and devoure those *Samaritanes* who would not receive Him, in these words: Ye know not of what *Spirit* ye are, the son of Man is not come to destroy *Mens lives*, but to save them.

Paul the Apostle of our Lord teacheth, *2 Tim.* 24. 2. That the servant of the Lord must not *strive*, but must be *gentle* toward all *Men*, suffering the *Evill Men*, instructing them with *meeknesse* that are contrary minded; proving if *God* at any time will give them *repentance*, that they may acknowledge the *Truth*, and come to *amendment* out of that snare of the *devill*, &c.

According to these blessed *Commandements*, the holy *Prophets* fore-

told

told, that when the *Law of Moses* (concerning *Worship*) should cease, and *Christs Kingdome* be established, *Esa. 2. 4. Mic. 4. 3, 4.* They shall breake their *Swords* into *Mathookes*; and their *Speares* into *Sithes*. And *Esa. 11. 9.* Then shall none hurt or destroy in all the *Mountaine* of my Holinesse, &c. And when he came, the same he taught and practised, as before: so did his *Disciples* after him, for the *Weapons* of his *Warfare* are not carnall (saith the Apostle) 2 *Cor. 10. 4.*

But he chargeth straitly that his *Disciples* should be so far from persecuting those that would not bee of their Religion, that when they were persecuted they should pray (*Matth. 5.*) when they were cursed they should *blesse*, &c.

And the Reason seemes to bee, because they who now are *Tares*, may hereafter become *Wheat*; they who are now *blinde*, may hereafter see; they that now resist him, may hereafter receive him; they that are now in the *devils snare*, in *adversensse* to the *Truth*, may hereafter come to *repentance*; they that are now *blasphemers* and *persecutors* (as *Paul* was) may in time become *faithfull* as he; they that are now *idolators* as the *Corinths* once were (1 *Cor. 6. 9.*) may hereafter become *true worshippers* as they; they that are now *no people of God*, nor under *mercy* (as the *Saints* sometimes were, 1 *Pet. 2. 20.*) may hereafter become the *people of God*, and obtaine *mercy*, as they.

Some come not till the 11. houre, *Matth. 20. 6.* if those that come not till the *last houre* should be destroyed, because they come not at the first, then should they never come but be prevented.

All which premises are in all humility referred to your godly wise consideration.

I L. Because this persecution for cause of conscience is against the profession and practice of famous Princes.

First, you may please to consider the speech of *King James*, in his *Majesties Speech* at *Parliament*, 1609. He saith, it is a sure *Rule* in divinity, that God never loves to plant his *Church* by violence and bloodshed.

And in his *Highnesse Apologie*, pag. 4. speaking of such *Papists* that tooke the Oath, thus:

"I gave good prooffe that I intended no persecution against them for conscience cause, but onely desired to bee secured for civill obedience, which for conscience cause they are bound to performe.

And pag. 60. speaking of *Blackwell* (the *Arch-priest*) his *Majesty* saith, "It was never my intention to lay any thing to the said *Arch-Priests* charge (as I have never done to any) for cause of conscience. And in his *Highnesse Exposition* on *Revel. 20.* printed 1588. and after 1603. his *Majesty* writeth thus: "Sixthly, the compassing of the *Saints*

“and the besieging of the beloved City, declareth unto us a certaine note
 “of a false Church, to be Persecution, for they come to seeke the faithfull,
 “the faithfull are them that are sought: the wicked are the besiegers, the
 “faithfull are the besieged.

Secondly, the saying of Stephen King of Poland: “I am King of
 “Men, not of Consciences, a Commander of Bodies, not of Soules.

Thirdly, the King of Bohemia hath thus written:
 “And notwithstanding the successe of the later times (where-
 “in sundry opinions have beene hatched about the subject of
 “Religion) may make one clearly discern with his eye, and as it were
 “to touch with his Finger, that according to the veritie of Holy Scrip-
 “tures, and a *Maxime* heretofore told and maintained, by the ancient
 “Doctors of the Church; That mens consciences ought in no sort to bee
 “violated, urged, or constrained; and whensoever men have attempted
 “any thing by this violent course, whether openly or by secret meanes,
 “the issue hath beene pernicious, and the cause of great and wonderfull
 “Innuations in the principallest and mightiest Kingdomes and Countries
 “of all Christendome.

And further his Majesty saith: “So that once more we doe professe
 “before God and the whole World, that from this time for ward wee are
 “firmly resolved not to persecute or molest, or suffer to be persecuted or
 “molested, any person whosoever for matter of Religion, no not they that
 “professe themselves to be of the Romish Church, neither to trouble or
 “disturbe them in the exercise of their Religion, so they live confor-
 “mable to the Lawes of the States, &c.

And for the practice of this, where is persecution for cause of conscience
 except in England and where Popery reignes, and there neither in all
 places, as appeareth by France, Poland, and other places.

Nay, it is not practised amongst the Heathen that acknowledge not
 the true God, as the Turke, Persian, and others.

Thirdly, because persecution for cause of conscience is condemned 3. Re.
 by the ancient and later Writers, yea and Papists themselves.

Hilarie against Auxentius saith thus: The Christian Church doth not
 persecute, but is persecuted. And lamentable it is to see the great folly of
 these times, and to sigh at the foolish opinion of this world, in that men
 thinke by humane aide to helpe God, and with worldly pompe and
 power to undertake to defend the Christian Church. I aske you Bi-
 shops, what helpe used the Apostles in the publishing of the Gospel? with
 the aid of what power did they preach Christ, and converted the Hea-
 then from their idolatry to God? When they were in prisons, and lay in
 chains, did they praise and give thanks to God for any dignities, graces,
 and

and favours received from the *Court*? Or do you thinke that *Paul* went about with *Regall Mandates*, or *Kingly authority*, to gather and establish the *Church of Christ*? fought he *protection* from *Nero*, *Vespasian*?

The *Apostles* wrought with their hands for their owne maintenance, travailing by land and water from *Towne* to *Citie*, to preach *Christ*: yea the more they were forbidden, the more they taught and preached *Christ*. But now alas, humane helpe must assist and protect the *Faith*, and give the same countenance to and by vaine and worldly honours. Doe men seek to defend the *Church of Christ*? as if hee by his power were unable to performe it.

The same against the *Arrians*.

The *Church* now, which formerly by induring misery and imprisonment was knowne to be a true *Church*, doth now terrifie others by imprisonment, banishment, and misery, and boasteth that she is highly esteemed of the world, when as the true *Church* cannot but be hated of the same.

Tertull. ad *Scapulam*: It agreeth both with humane reason, and naturall equity, that every man worship God uncompelled, and beleeve what he will; for it neither hurteth nor profiteth any one another mans Religion and Beleeve: Neither becometh it any Religion to compell another, to be of their Religion, which willingly and freely should be imbraced, and not by constraint: for as much as the offerings were required of those that freely and with good will offered, and not from the contrary.

Jerom. in *proem. lib. 4. in Jeremiam*. Heresie must be cut off with the Sword of the Spirit: let us strike through with the Arrows of the Spirit all Sonnes and Disciples of mis-led Heretickes, that is, with Testimonies of holy Scriptures. The slaughter of Heretickes is by the word of God.

Brentius upon 1 *Cor. 3*. No man hath power to make or give Lawes to Christians, whereby to binde their consciences; for willingly, freely, and uncompelled, with a ready desire and cheerfull minde, must those that come, run unto *Christ*.

Luther in his Booke of the *Civill Magistrate* saith: The Lawes of the *Civill Magistrates* government extends no further then over the body or goods, and to that which is externall: for over the soule God will not suffer any man to rule: onely he himselfe will rule there. Wherefore whosoever doth undertake to give Lawes unto the Soules and Consciences of Men, he usurpeth that government himselfe which appertaineth unto God, &c.

Therefore upon 1 *Kings 5*. In the building of the Temple there was no sound of Iron heard, to signifie that *Christ* will have in his Church a free and a willing People, not compelled and constrained by Lawes and Statutes.

Againe he saith upon *Luk. 23.* It is not the true *Catholike Church*, which is defended by the *Secular Arme* or humane Power, but the false and feigned Church, which although it carries the Name of a Church yet it denies the power thereof.

And upon *Psal. 17.* he saith: For the true Church of Christ knoweth not *Brachiumulare*, which the *Bishops* now adayes, chiefly use.

Againe, in *Postil. Dom. 1. post Epiphan.* he saith: Let not Christians be commanded, but exhorted: for, He that willingly will not doe that, whereunto he is friendly exhorted, he is no Christian: wherefore they that doe compell those that are not willing, shew thereby that they are not Christian Preachers, but *Worldly Beadles*.

Againe, upon *1 Pet. 3.* he saith: If the *Civill Magistrate* shall command me to believe thus and thus: I should answer him after this manner: Lord, or Sir, Looke you to your *Civill or Worldly Government*, Your Power extends not so farre as to command any thing in Gods Kingdome: Therefore herein I may not heare you. For if you cannot beare it, that any should usurpe *Authoritie* where you have to command, how doe you thinke that God should suffer you to thrust him from his Seat, and to seat your selfe therein?

Lastly, the *Papists*, the *Inventors of Persecution*, in a wicked Booke of theirs set forth in *K. James his Reigne*, thus:

Moreover, the *Meanes* which *Almighty God* appointed his Officers to use in the Conversion of *Kingdomes* and *Nations*, and *People*, was *Humilitie, Patience, Charitie*: saying, Behold I send you as *Sheepe* in the midst of *Wolves*, *Mat. 10. 16.* He did not say, Behold I send you as *Wolves* among *Sheepe*, to kill, imprison, spoile and devoure those unto whom they were sent.

Againe *vers. 7.* he saith: They to whom I send you, will deliver you up into *Councells*, and in their *Synagogues* they will scourge you; and to *Presidents* and to *Kings* shall you be led for my sake. He doth not say: You whom I send, shall deliver the people (whom you ought to convert) unto *Councells*; and put them in *Prisons*, and lead them to *Presidents*, and *Tribunall Seates*, and make their Religion *Felony* and *Treason*.

Againe he saith, *vers. 32.* When ye enter into an House, salute it, saying, Peace be unto this House: he doth not say, You shall send *Pursevants* to ransack or spoile his House.

Againe he said, *John 10.* The good *Pastour* giveth his life for his Sheep, the *Thiefe* commeth not but to steale, kill and destroy. He doth not say, The *Thiefe* giveth his life for his Sheep, and the Good *Pastour*

commeth not but to steale, kill and destroy. So that we holding our peace, our *Adversaries* themselves speake for us, or rather for the Truth.

To answer some maine *Objections*.

And first, that it is no *prejudice* to the *Common wealth*; if *Libertie of Conscience* were suffered to such as doe feare God indeed, as is or will be manifest in such mens lives and conversations.

Abraham abode among the *Canaanites* a long time, yet contrary to them in *Religion*, Gen. 13. 7. & 16. 13. Again he sojourned in *Gerar*, and *K. Abimelech* gave him leave to abide in his Land, Gen. 20. 21. 23. 24.

Isaack also dwelt in the same Land, yet contrary in *Religion*, Gen. 26. *Jacob* lived 20 yeares in one House with his Unkle *Laban*, yet differed in *Religion*, Gen. 31.

The people of *Israel* were about 430 yeares in that infamous land of *Egypt*, and afterwards 70 yeares in *Babylon* all which time they differed in *Religion* from the States, *Exod.* 12. & 2 *Chron* 36.

Come to the time of *Christ*, where *Israel* was under the *Romanes*, where lived divers Sects of *Religion*, as *Herodians*, *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, *Saduces* and *Libertines*, *Thuddeans* and *Samaritanes*, beside the Common Religion of the *Jewes*, *Christ* and his *Apostles*. All which differed from the Common Religion of the State, which was like the Worship of *Diana*, which almost the whole world then worshipped, *Acts* 19. 20.

All these lived under the Government of *Cesar*, being nothing hurtfull unto the *Common-wealth*; giving unto *Cesar* that which was his. And for their *Religion* and Consciences towards God, he left them to themselves, as having no Dominion over their *Soules* and *Consciences*. And when the *Enemies* of the Truth raised up any *Tumults*, the wisdom of the *Magistrate* most wisely appealed them, *Acts* 18. 14. & 19. 35.

THE ANSWER OF Mr. JOHN
COTTON of Boston in New-England,
To the aforesaid ARGUMENTS against
Persecution for Cause of Conscience.
Professedly mainteining *Persecution* for
Cause of Conscience.

THE *Question* which you put, is, Whether *Persecution* for cause of Conscience, be not against the *Doctrine* of *Iesus Christ* the King of Kings.

Now by *Persecution* for Cause of Conscience, I conceive you meane, either for professing some point of *Doctrine* which you believe in Conscience to be the Truth, or for practising some *Workes* which in Conscience you believe to be a *Religious Duty*.

Now in Points of *Doctrine* some are *fundamentall*, without right beliefe whereof a Man cannot be saved: Others are *circumstantiall* or lesse principall, wherein Men may differ in judgement, without prejudice of *salvation* on either part.

In like sort, in Points of *Practice*, some concerne the waightier Duties of the Law, as, What God we worship, and with what kinde of *Worship*; whether such, as if it be *Right*, fellowship with God is held; if *Corrupt*, fellowship with Him is lost.

Again, in Points of *Doctrine* and *Worship* lesse Principall: either they are held forth in a meeke and peaceable way, though the Things be *Erroneous* or unlawfull: Or they are held forth with such *Arrogance* and *Impetuousnesse*, as tendeth and reacheth (even of it selfe) to the disturbance of *Civill Peace*.

Finally, let me adde this one distinction more: When we are persecuted for Conscience sake, It is either for Conscience rightly informed, or for erroneous and blind Conscience.

These things premised, I would lay down mine Answer to the Question in certaine Conclusions.

First, it is not lawfull to persecute any for Conscience sake Rightly informed; for in persecuting such, Christ himselfe is persecuted in them,
Acts 9.4.

Secondly, for an *Erroneous* and *blind Conscience*, (even in fundamen-
tall

tall and weighty Points) It is not lawfull to persecute any, till after *Admonition* once or twice: and so the Apostle directeth, *7 it. 3. 10.* and giveth the Reason, that in *fundamentall* and principall points of *Doctrine* or *Worship*, the Word of *God* in such things is so cleare, that hee cannot but bee convinced in *Conscience* of the dangerous Error of his way, after once or twice *Admonition*, wisely and faithfully dispensed. And then if any one persist, it is not out of *Conscience*, but against his *Conscience*, at the Apostle saith *vers. 11.* He is subverted and sinneth, being condemned of Himselfe, that is, of his owne *Conscience*. So that if such a Man after such *Admonition* shall still persist in the Error of his way, and be therefore punished; He is not persecuted for Cause of *Conscience*, but for sinning against his Owne *Conscience*.

3. Thirdly, In things of lesser moment, whether Points of *Doctrine* or *Worship*, If a man hold them forth in a Spirit of Christian *Meeknesse* and *Love* (though with *Zeale* and *Constancie*) he is not to be persecuted, but tolerated, till *God* may be pleased to manifest his Truth to him, *Phil. 3. 17. Rom. 14. 1, 2, 3, 4.*
4. But if a Man hold forth or professe any *Error* or false way, with a *boystervous* and *arrogant* spirit, to the disturbance of *Civill peace*, he may justly be punished according to the qualitie and measure of the disturbance caused by him.

Now let us consider of your *Reasons* or *Objections* to the contrary.

Your first head of *Objections* is taken from the *Scripture*.

Object. 1. Because *Christ* commandeth to let alone the *Tares* and *Wheat* to grow together unto the *Harvest*, *Mat. 13. 30. 38.*

Ans. *Tares* are not *Briars* and *Thornes*, but partly *Hypocrites*, like unto the *Godly*, but indeed *Carnall*, as the *Tares* are like to *Wheat*, but are not *Wheat*. Or partly such *Corrupt Doctrines* or *Practices* as are indeed unsound, but yet such as come very neere the Truth, (as *Tares* doe to the *Wheat*) and so neere, that *Good men* may be taken with them, and so the Persons in whom they grow, cannot be rooted out, but good will be rooted up with them. And in such a case *Christ* calleth for *Toleration*, not for *penall prosecution*, according to the 3. Conclusion.

Object. 2. In *Math. 13. 14.* *Christ* commandeth his *Disciples* to let the *Blind* alone till they fall into the ditch; therefore he would have their punishment deferred till their finall destruction.

Ans. He there speaketh not to *publique officers*, whether in *Church* or *Common-weale*, but to his private *Disciples*, concerning the *Pharisees*, over whom they had no power. And the Command he giveth to let

them alone, is spoken in regard of troubling themselves or regarding the offence, which they tooke at the wholesome *Doctrine* of the *Gospel*. As who should say, Though they be offended at this Saying of mine, yet doe not you feare their *Fear*, nor bee troubled at their offence, which they take at my *Doctrine*, not out of sound Judgement, but out of their *Blindnesse*. But this maketh nothing to the Cause in hand.

Ob. In *Luk. 9. 54 55.* *Christ* reproveth his *Disciples*, who would have had fire come downe from *Heaven* to consume the *Samaritanes*, who refused to receive Him.

Obj. And *Paul* teacheth *Timothy*, not to strive, but to be gentle towards All men, suffering evill patiently.

Ans. Both these are *Directions* to *Ministers* of the *Gospel* how to deale (not with *obstinate offenders* in the *Church*, that sinne against Conscience, but) either with Men without, as the *Samaritanes* were, and many unconverted *Christians* in *Crete*, whom *Titus* (as an *Evangelist*) was to seeke to convert: Or at best with some *Jewes* or *Gentiles* in the *Church*, who though carnall, yet were not convinced of the error of their Way: And 'tis true, it became not the Spirit of the *Gospel* to convert Aliens to the Faith of *Christ* (such as the *Samaritanes* were) by *Fire* and *Brimstone*; nor to deale harshly in publique Ministerie or private Conference with all such contrary minded men, as either had not yet entred into *Church-Fellowship*, or if they had, yet did hitherto sinne of *Ignorance*, not against Conscience.

But neither of both these Texts doe hinder the Ministers of the *Gospel* to proceed in a Church-way against Church-members, when they become *Scandalous offenders*, either in *Life* or *Doctrine*: much lesse doe they speake at all to *Civill Magistrates*.

Ob. 5. From the prediction of the *Prophets*, who foretold that *Carnall Weapons* should cease in the dayes of the *Gospel*, *Isa. 2. 4. & 11. 9.* *Mic. 4. 3. 4.* And the *Apostle* professeth, The weapons of our *Warfare* are not carnall, *2 Cor. 10. 4.* And *Christ* is so farre from persecuting those that would not be of his *Religion*, that he chargeth them, when they are persecuted themselves, they should pray, and when they are *curst* they should *blesse*. The reason whereof seemeth to be, that they who are now *Persecuters* and wicked persons, may become true *Disciples* and *Converts*.

Ans. Those predictions in the *Prophets* doe onely shew, First, with what kind of *Weapons* he will subdue the *Nations* to the Obedience of the Faith of the *Gospel*, not by *Fire* and *Sword*, and *Weapons* of *Warre*,

but by the Power of his *Word* and Spirit, which no man doubteth of.

Secondly, those *predictions* of the *Prophets* shew what the meeke and peaceable temper will be of all the true Converts to *Christianity*, not *Lions* or *Leopards*, &c. not cruell oppressors, nor malignant opposers, or biters of one another. But doth not forbid them to drive ravenous *Wolves* from the *sheepfold*, and to restrain them from devouring the *Sheepe of Christ*.

And when *Paul* saith, The weapons of our warfare are not carnall but *spirituall*, he denyeth not *civill weapons of Justice* to the *Civill Magistrats*, *Rom. 13.* but onely to *Church officers*. And yet the weapons of such officers he acknowledgeth to be such, as though they be *spirituall*, yet are ready to take *vengeance* of all *disobedience*, *2 Cor. 10. 6.* which hath reference (amongst other Ordinances) to the censure of the *Church* against *scandalous offenders*.

3. When *Christ* commandeth his *Disciples* to blesse them that curse them and persecute them, he giveth not therein a rule to *publick officers*, whether in *Church* or *Commonweale*, to suffer notorious sinners, either in *life* or *doctrine*, to passe away with a *blessing*: But to private *Christians* to suffer *persecution* patiently, yea and to pray for their persecutors.

Againe, it is true, *Christ* would have his *Disciples* to bee farre from persecuting (for that is a *sinfull oppression* of Men for *righteousnesse sake*) but that hindreth not but that he would have them execute upon all *disobedience* the judgement and *vengeance* required in the *Word*, *2 Cor. 10. 6. Rom. 13. 4.*

4. Though it be true that wicked persons now may by the grace of *God* become true *Disciples* and *Converts*, yet we may not doe evil that good may come thereof: And evill it would bee to tolerate notorious evil doers, whether *seducing teachers*, or *scandalous liver*s. *Christ* had something against the *Angel* of the *Church* of *Pergamus* for tolerating them that held the doctrine of *Balaam*, and against the *Church* of *Thyatira* for tolerating *Jesabel* to teach and seduce, *Rev. 2. 14. 20.*

Your second Head of *Reasons* is taken from the *profession* and *practice* of famous *Princes*, King *James*, *Stephen* of *Poland*, King of *Bohemia*.

Whereunto a treble answer may briefly be returned.

First, we willingly acknowledge, that none is to be persecuted at all, no more then they may be oppressed for *righteousnesse sake*.

Againe, we acknowledge that none is to be punished for his *conscience*, though *misinformed*, as hath been said, *unlesse his errour be fundamental*,

mentall, or seditiously and turbulently promoted, and that after due conviction of his *conscience*, that it may appeare he is not punished for his *conscience*, but for sinning against his *conscience*.

Furthermore, we acknowledge none is to be constrained to beleieve or professe the true *Religion* till he be convinced in judgement of the truth of it: but yet restrained he may from blaspheming the truth, and from seducing any unto pernicious errors.

2. Wee answer, what *Princes* professe or practise, is not a rule of *conscience*: they many times tolerate that in point of *State policy*, which cannot justly be tolerated in point of true *Christianity*.

Againe, *Princes* many times tolerate offendours out of very necessity, when the offenders are either too many, or too mighty for them to punish, in which respect *David* tolerated *Joab* and his murders, but against his will.

3. We answer further, that for those three *Princes* named by you, who tolerated *Religion*, we can name you more and greater who have not tolerated *Heretickes* and *Schismatickes*, notwithstanding their pretence of *conscience*, and arrogating the Crowne of *Martyrdome* to their sufferings.

Constantine the Great at the request of the Generall Conncell of *Nice*, banished *Arrius* with some of his fellowes. *Sozom. lib. 1. Eccles. Hist. cap. 19. 20.* The same *Constantine* made a severe Law against the *Donarists*. And the like proceedings against them were used by *Valentinian*, *Gratian*, and *Theodosius*, as *Augustine* reporteth in *Epist. 166.* Only *Julian* the *Apostata* granted liberty to *Heretickes* as well as to *Pagans*, that he might by tolerating all weeds to grow, choake the vitals of *Christianity*, which was also the practice and sin of *Valens* the *Arrian*.

Queene *Elizabeth*, as famous for her government as any of the former, it is well knowne what Lawes she made and executed against *Papists*. Yea and King *James* (one of your own witnesses) though he was slow in proceeding against *Papists* (as you say) for *conscience* sake, yet you are not ignorant how sharply and severely he punished those whom the malignant world calleth *Puritanes*, men of more *conscience* and better faith then he tolerated.

I come now to your third and last argument, taken from the judgement of ancient and later *Writers*, yea even of *Papists* themselves, who have condemned *persecution* for *conscience* sake.

You begin with *Hilary*, whose testimony we might admit without any prejudice to the truth: for it is true, the *Christian Church* doth not

persecute, but is persecuted: But to excommunicate an *Hereticke*, is not to persecute; that is, it is not to punish an innocent, but a culpable and damnable person, and that not for *conscience*, but for persisting in *error* against light of *conscience*, whereof it hath beene convinced.

It is true also what he saith, that neither the *Apostles* did, nor may we propagate *Christian Religion* by the Sword: but if *Pagans* cannot be won by the *Word*, they are not to be compelled by the *Sword*. Neverthelessse this hindreth not, but if they or any others should *blaspheme* the true *God*, and his true *Religion*, they ought to be severely punished; and no lesse doe they deserve, if they *seduce* from the truth to damnable *Heresie* or *Idolatry*.

Your next Writer (which is *Tertullian*) speaketh to the same purpose in the place alledged by you. His intent is onely to restraine *Scapula* the *Romane Governour* of *Africa* from the persecution of *Christians*, for not offering sacrifice to their gods: And for that end fetcheth an argument from the Law of *Naturall Equity*, not to compell any to any *Religion*, but to permit them either to beleeeve willingly, or not to beleeeve at all. Which wee acknowledge, and accordingly permit the *Indians* to continue in their *unbeleefe*. Neverthelessse it will not therefore be lawfull openly to tolerate the worship of devils or *Idols*, or the *seduction* of any from the truth.

When *Tertullian* saith, Another mans *Religion* neither hurteth nor profiteth any; it must be understood of *private worship* and *Religion* professed in private: otherwise a false *Religion* professed by the Members of a *Church*, or by such as have given their *Names* to *Christ*, will be the *ruine* and *desolation* of the *Church*, as appeareth by the threats of *Christ* to the *Churches* of *Asia*, *Revel. 2.*

Your next Authour *Hierom* crosseth not the truth, nor advantageth not your cause: for we grant what he saith, that *Heresie* must bee cut off with the Sword of the *Spirit*. But this hindreth not, but that being so cut downe, if the *Hereticke* still persist in his *Heresie*, to the *seduction* of others, he may be cut off by the *civill sword*, to prevent the *perdition* of others. And that to bee *Hieromes* meaning appeareth by his note upon that of the *Apostle*, [A little *Leaven* leaveneth the whole *lump*] therefore (saith he) a *spark* as soone as it appeareth, is to be extinguished, and the *Leaven* to be removed from the rest of the *dough*, rotten peeces of *flesh* are to be cut off, and a *scabbed beast* is to be driven from the *sheepfold*: lest the whole *house*, *masse of dough*, *body* and *flocke*, be set on fire with the *spark*, bee sowed with the *Leaven*, be putrified with the

rotten

rotten flesh, perish by the scabbed beast.

Brentius (whom you next quote) speaketh not to your *Cause*. We willingly grant him and you, that Man hath no power to make *Lawes*, to bind *Conscience*. But this hindreth not, but that Men may see the *Lawes of God* observed, which doe bind *Conscience*.

The like Answer may be returned to *Luther*, whom you next alledge. First, that the *Government* of the *Civill Magistrate* extendeth no further then over the *Bodies* and *Goods* of their Subjects, not over their *Soules*: And therefore they may not undertake to give *Lawes* to the *Soules* and *Consciences* of Men.

Secondly, that the *Church of Christ* doth not use the Arme of *Secular Power* to compell men to the *Faith*, or profession of the *Truth*; for this is to be done by *Spirituall weapons*, whereby *Christians* are to be exhorted, not compelled.

But this hindreth not that *Christians* sinning against *light* of *Faith* and *Conscience*, may justly be censured by the *Church* with *Excommunication*, and by the *Civill Sword* also, in case they shall corrupt others to the perdition of their *Soules*.

As for the *Testimony* of the *Papish Book*, we weigh it not, as knowing (whatsoever they speake for *Toleration of Religion*, where themselves are under *Hatches*) when they come to sit at *Sterne*, they judge and practise quite contrary, as both their *Writings* and *Judiciall proceedings* have testified to the World these many yeares.

To shut up this Argument from *Testimonie of Writers*. It is well known, *Augustine* retracted this Opinion of yours, which in his younger times he had held, but in after *riper age* reversed and refused, as appeareth in the second Book of his *Retractions*, chap. 5. and in his Epistles 48. 50. And in his 1. Book against *Parmenianus*, cap. 7. he sheweth, that if the *Donatists* were punished with death, they were justly punished. And in his 11 Tractate upon *John*, They murder, saith he, *Soules*, and themselves are afflicted in *Body*: They put men to everlasting death, and yet they complaine when themselves are put to suffer *temporall death*.

Optatus in his 3. book, justifieth *Macharius*, who had put some *Hereticks* to death; that he had done no more herein then what *Moses*, *Phineas*, and *Elias* had done before him.

Bernard in his 66 Sermon in *Cantica*: Out of doubt (saith he) it is better that they should be restrained by the Sword of Him, who beareth not the Sword in vaine, then that they should be suffered to draw many

others into their *Error*. For he is the *Minister of God for Wrath* to every evil doer.

Calvins judgement is well knowne, who procured the death of *Michael Servetus* for pertinacie in *Heresie*, and defended his fact by a Book written of that Argument.

Beza also wrote a Booke de *Hereticis Morte plectendis*, that *Hereticks* are to be punished with *Death*. *Aretius* likewise tooke the like course about the Death of *Valentinus Gentilis*, and justified the Magistrates proceeding against him, in an History written of that Argument.

Finally, you come to answer some maine Objections, as you call them, which yet are but one, and that one objecteth nothing against what we hold. It is (say you) no prejudice to the Common-wealth, if Libertie of Conscience were suffered to such as feare God indeed, which you prove by the examples of the Patriarchs and others.

But we readily grant you, Libertie of Conscience is to be granted to men that feare God indeed, as knowing they will not persist in *Heresie*, or turbulent *Schisme*, when they are convinced in Conscience of the sinfulness thereof.

But the Question is, Whether an Heretick after once or twice Admonition (and so after conviction) or any other scandalous and heynous offender, may be tolerated, either in the Church without Excommunication, or in the Common-wealth without such punishment as may preserve others from dangerous and damnable infection.

Thus much I thought needfull to be spoken, for avoyding the Grounds of your Error.

I forbear adding Reasons to justify the Truth, because you may finde that done to your hand, in a Treatise sent to some of the Brethren late of *Salem*, who doubted as you doe.

The Lord Jesus lead you by a Spirit of Truth
into all Truth, through Jesus Christ.

A R E P L Y to the aforesaid A N S W E R of *Mr. Cotton.*

IN A CONFERENCE betweene T R U T H and P E A C E.

C H A P. I.

Truth. **I**N what *darke corner* of the *World* (*sweet Peace*) are we two met? How hath this present evill *world* banished *Me* from all the *Coasts & Quarters* of it? and how hath the *Righteous God* in judgement taken *Thee* from the *Earth*, *Rev 6.4.*

Peace. 'Tis lamentably true. (*blessed Truth*) the foundations of the *World* have long been out of course: the *Gates* of *Earth* and *Hell* have conspired together to intercept our joyfull meeting and our holy kisses: With what a wearied, tyred *Wing* have I flowne over *Nations, Kingdomes, Cities, Townes*, to finde out precious *Truth*? Truth and Peacerare-ly and seldom meet.

Truth. The like enquiries in my flights and travells have I made for *Peace*, and still am told, she hath left the *Earth*, and fled to *Heaven*.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, What is the *Earth* but a *dungeon* of darknesse, where *Truth* is not?

Truth. And what's the *Peace* thereof but a fleeting *dream*, thine *Ape* and *Counterfeit*?

Peace. O where's the *Promise* of the *God* of *Heaven*, that *Righteousnes* and *Peace* shall *kisse* each other?

Truth. *Patience* (*sweet Peace*) these *Heavens* and *Earth* are growing *Old*, and shall be changed like a *Garment*, *Psal. 102.* They shall melt away, and be burnt up with all the *Works* that are therein; and the most high *Eternall Creatour*, shall gloriously create *New Heavens* and *New Earth*, wherein dwells *Righteousnesse*, *2 Pet. 3.* Our *kisses* then shall have their *endlesse date* of pure and sweetest *ioyes*? till then both *Thou* and *I* must hope, and wait, and beare the furie of the *Dragons* wrath, whose *monstrous Lies* and *Furies* shall with him selfe, be cast into the lake of *Fire*, the *second death*, *Revel. 20.*

Peace. Most precious *Truth*, thou knowest we are both pursued and laid

laid for : Mine *heart* is full of sighes, mine *eyes* with teares: Where can I better vent my full oppressed *bosome*, then into *thine*, whose faithfull *lips* may for these few houres revive my drooping wandring *spirits*, and here begin to Wipe *Teares* from mine eyes, and the eyes of my dearest *Children*?

Truth. Sweet daughter of the *God of Peace*, begin; powre out thy sorrowes, vent thy *complaints*: how joyfull am I to improve these precious Minutes to revive our *Hearts*, both *thine* and mine, and the hearts of all that love the *Truth* and *Peace*, Zach. 8.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, I know thy *birth*, thy *nature*, thy *delight*. They that know thee, will prize thee farre above themselves and lives, and sell themselves to buy thee. Well spake that famous *Elizabeth* to her famous *Attorney* Sir *Edward Coke*: Mr. *Attourney*, goe on as thou hast begun, and still plead, not *pro Domina Regina*, but *pro Domina Veritate*.

Truth. 'Tis true, my *Crowne* is high, my *Scepter's* strong to breake down *strongest holds*, to throw down highest *Crownes* of all that plead (though but in thought) against me. Some few there are, but oh how few are valiant for the *Truth*, and dare to plead my *Cause*, as my *Witnesses* in sack-cloth, Revel. 11. While all mens *Tongues* are bent like *Bowes* to shoot out lying words against Me!

Peace. O how could I spend *eternall dayes* and *endlesse dates* at thy holy feet, in listning to the precious Oracles of thy mouth! All the Words of thy mouth are *Truth*, and there is no iniquity in them; Thy *lips* drop as the hony-combe. But oh! since we must part anon, let us (as thou saidst) improve our *Minutes*, and (according as thou promisedst) revive me with thy words, which are sweeter then the honey, and the honey-combe.

CHAP. II.

2 great complaints of Peace. **D**EARE *Truth*, I have two sad *Complaints*:
First, The most sober of thy *Witnesses*, that dare to plead thy *Cause*, how are they charged to be mine *Enemies*, contentious, turbulent, seditious?

Secondly, Thine *Enomies*, though they speake and raile against thee, though they outrageously pursue, imprison, banish, kill thy faithfull *Witnesses*, yet how is all vermillion'd o're for *Justice* against the *Hereticks*? Yea, if they kindle coales, and blow the flames of devouring *Warres*, that leave neither *Spiritual* nor *Civill State*, but burns up *Branch* and

and Root, yet how doe all pretend an *holy War*? He that *kills*, and hee that's *killed*, they both cry out, It is for *God*, and for their *conscience*.

Tis true, nor one nor other seldome dare to plead the mighty Prince *Christ Iesus* for their *Author*, yet both (both *Protestant* and *Papist*) pretend they have spoke with *Moses* and the *Prophets*, who all, say they (before *Christ* came) allowed such *holy persecutions*, *holy Warres* against the enemies of *holy Church*.

Truth. Deare *Peace* (to ease thy first complaint) tis true, thy dearest *Sons*, most like their mother, *Peace-keeping*, *Peace-making* *Sons of God*, have borne and still must beare the blurs of troublers of *Israel*, and turners of the *World* upside downe. And tis true againe, what *Salomon* once spake: The *beginning* of *strife* is as when one letteth out *Water*, therefore (saith he) leave off *contention* before it be medled with. This *Caveat* should keepe the *bankes* and *fluces* firme and strong, that *strife*, like a *breach of waters*, breake not in upon the sons of men.

Yet *strife* must be distinguished: It is *necessary* or *unnecessary*, *godly* or *ungodly*, *Christian* or *unchristian*, &c.

It is *unnecessary*, *unlawfull*, *dishonourable*, *ungodly*, *unchristian*, in most cases in the world, for there is a *possibility* of keeping *sweet Peace* in most cases, and if it be *possible*, it is the expresse command of *God* that *Peace* be kept, *Rom. 13*.

Again, it is *necessary*, *honourable*, *godly*, &c. with *civill* and *earthly* weapons to defend the *innocent*, and to rescue the oppressed from the violent *pawes* and *jaws* of oppressing persecuting *Nimrods*, *Psal. 73. Job 29*.

It is as *necessary*, yea more *honourable*, *godly*, and *Christian*, to fight the fight of *faith*, with *religious* and *spirituall* *Artillery*, and to contend earnestly for the *faith* of *Iesus*, once delivered to the *Saints* against all *opposers*, and the *gates* of *earth* and *hell*, *men* or *devils*, yea against *Paul* himselfe, or an *Angell* from *heaven*, if he bring any other *faith* or doctrine, *Jude vers. 4. Gal. 1. 8*.

Peace. With the *clashing* of such *Armes* am I never *wakened*. Speake once againe (deare *Truth*) to my second complaint of bloody *persecution*, and devouring *Wars*, marching under the colours of upright *Justice*, and *holy Zeale*, &c.

Truth. Mine eares have long beene filled with a threefold dolefull Outcry.

First, of one hundred forty foure thousand *Virgins* (*Rev. 14*) forc'd and raviht by *Emperours*, *Kings*, and *Governours* to their beds of *worship* and *Religion*, set up (like *Abshaloms*) on high in their severall *States* and *Countries*.

Persecutors seldom plead *Christ*, but *Moses* for their *Author*.

Strife distinguished.

1. Ungodly *Strife*.

2. Godly *Strife*.

A threefold dolefull cry. *Christ's* worship is his bed, *Cant. 1. 16*. False worship therefore is a false bed.

The cry
of the
soules un-
der the
Altar.

Secondly, the cry of those precious *soules* under the *Altar* (*Rev. 6.*) the *soules* of such as have beene persecuted and slaine for the testimony and *witnesse* of *Iesus*, whose *bloud* hath beene spilt like *water* upon the *earth*, and that because they have held fast the *truth* and *witnesse* of *Iesus*, against the *worship* of the *States* and *Times*, compelling to an *uniformity* of *State Religion*.

These cries of *murdered Virgins* who can sit still and heare? Who can but run with zeale inflamed to prevent the *deflowring* of *chaste soules*, and spilling of the *bloud* of the *innocent*? *Humanity* stirs up and prompts the *Sonnes* of men to draw *materiall swords* for a *Virgins chastity* and *life*, against a *ravishing murderer*? And *Piety* and *Christianity* must needs awaken the *Sons of God* to draw the *spirituall sword* (the *Word of God*) to preserve the *chastity* and *life* of *spirituall Virgins*, who abhorre the *spirituall defilements* of *false worship*, *Rev. 14.*

A cry of
the whole
earth.

Thirdly, the cry of the *whole earth*, made *drunke* with the *bloud* of its *inhabitants*, slaughtering each other in their *blinded zeale*, for *Conscience*, for *Religion*, against the *Catholickes*, against the *Lutherans*, &c.

What *fearefull cries* within these twenty years of hundred *thousands* men, women, children, fathers, mothers, husbands, wives, brethren, sisters, old and young, high and low, *plundred, ravished, slaughtered, murdered, famished*? And hence these cries, that men fling away the *spirituall sword* and *spirituall artillery* (in *spirituall* and *religious* causes) and rather trust for the suppressing of each others *God*, *Conscience*, and *Religion* (as they suppose) to an *arme* of *flesh*, and *sword of Steele*?

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, what hast thou there?

Peace. *Arguments* against *persecution* for cause of *Conscience*.

Truth. And what there?

Peace. An *Answer* to such *Arguments*, contrarily maintaining such *persecution* for cause of *Conscience*.

The wonderfull
providence
of God in
the writing
of the *Argu-
ments* a-
gainst per-
secution in
Milke.

Truth. These *Arguments* against such *persecution*, and the *Answer* pleading for it, written (as *Love* hopes) from godly *intentions*, *hearts*, and *hands*, yet in a marvellous different *stile* and *manner*. The *Arguments* against *persecution* in *milke*, the *Answer* for it (as I may say) in *bloud*.

The *Authour* of these *Arguments* (against *persecution*) (as I have beene informed) being committed by *some* then in power, *close prisoner* to *Newgate*, for the *witnesse* of some *truths* of *Iesus*, and having not the use of *Pen* and *Inke*, wrote these *Arguments* in *Milke*, in sheets of *Paper*, brought to him by the *Woman his Keeper*, from a friend in *London*, as the *stopples* of his *Milk bottle*.

In such Paper written with *Milk* nothing will appeare, but the way of reading it by *fire* being knowne to this friend who received the Papers, he transcribed and kept together the Papers, although the *Author* himselfe could not correct, nor view what himselfe had written.

It was in *milke*, tending to soule *nourishment*, even for *Babes* and *Sucklings* in *Christ*:

It was in *milke*, spiritually *white*, pure and innocent, like those *white horses* of the *Word* of *truth* and *meeknesse*, and the *white Linnen* or *Armour* of *righteousnesse*, in the *Army* of *Iesus*. *Rev. 6. & 19.*

It was in *milke*, soft, meeke, peaceable and gentle, tending both to the *peace* of *soules*, and the *peace* of *States* and *Kingdomes*.

Peace. The *Answer* (though I hope out of *milkie* pure intentions) is returned in *blond: blondy* & *slaughterous conclusions: blondy* to the *souls* of all men, forc'd to the *Religion* and *Worship* which every civil State or Commonwealth agrees on, and compells all subjects to in a dissembled uniformitie.

The Answer writ in Blond.

Blondy to the *bodies*; first of the *holy witnesses* of *Christ Iesus*, who testifie against such invented worships.

Secondly, of the *Nations* and *Peoples* slaughtering each other for their severall respective *Religions* and *Consciences*.

CHAP. III.

Truth. IN the *Answer* Mr. *Cotton* first layes downe severall distinctions and conclusions of his owne, tending to prove persecution.

Secondly, *Answers* to the *Scriptures*, and *Arguments* proposed against persecution.

Peace. The first distinction is this: By persecution for cause of *Conscience*, "I conceive you meane either for professing some point of doctrine which you beleeeve in conscience to be the truth, or for practising some worke which you beleeeve in conscience to be a religious dutie."

The first distinction discussed.

Truth. I acknowledge that to molest any person, Jew or Gentile, for either professing doctrine, or practising worship, meerly religious or spirituall, it is to persecute him, and such a person (what ever his doctrine or practice be true or false) suffereth persecution for conscience.

Definition of persecution discussed.

But withall I desire it may bee well observed, that this distinction is not full and complete: For beside this that a man may be persecuted because

Conscience will not be restrained from its own worship, nor constrained to another.

A chaste soule in Gods worship like a chaste wife.

because he holdeth or practiseth what he beleeveth in *conscience* to be a *Truth*, (as *Daniel* did, for which he was cast into the *Lyons den*, *Dan. 6.*) and many thousands of *Christians*, because they durst not cease to *preach* and *practise* what they beleeveth was by *God* commanded, as the *Apostles* answered (*Acts 4. & 5.*) I say besides this a man may also be persecuted, because hee dares not be *constrained* to yeeld obedience to such *doctrines* and *worships* as are by men invented and appointed. So the three famous *Jewes* were cast into the fiery furnace for refusing to fall downe (in a *non-conformity* to the whole conforming world) before the golden *Image*, *Dan. 3. 21.* So thousands of (*Christs witnesses*) (and of late in those bloudy *Marian* dayes) have rather chose to yeeld their *bodies* to all sorts of *torments*, then to subscribe to *doctrines*, or *practise* *worships*, unto which the *States* and *Times* (as *Nabuchadnezzar* to his golden *Image*) have compelled and urged them.

A chaste wife will not onely abhorre to be restrained from her *husbands bed*, as adulterous and polluted, but also abhor (if not much more) to bee constrained to the *bed of a stranger*. And what is abominable in *corporall*, is much more loathsome in *spirituall whoredoms* and defilement. The Spouse of *Christ Iesus* who could not finde her soules beloved in the *wayes* of his *worship* and *Ministry*, (*Cant. 1. 3. and 5. Chapters*) abhorred to turne aside to other *Flockes*, *Worships*, &c. and to embrace the bosome of a false *Christ*, *Cant. 1. 8.*

CHAP. IV.

The second distinction discussed.

Gods people may erre from the very fundamentals of visible worship.

Peace. The second distinction is this.

In points of *Doctrine* some are fundamentall, without right beleefe whereof a man cannot be saved: others are circumstantiall and lesse principall, wherein a man may differ in judgement without prejudice of salvation on either part.

Truth. To this distinction I dare not subscribe, for then I should everlastingly condemne thousands, and ten thousands, yea the whole *generation* of the *righteous*, who since the falling away (from the first primitive *Christianitate* or *worship*) have and doe erre fundamentally concerning the true *matter*, *constitution*, *gathering* and *governing* of the *Church*: and yet farre be it from any pious *breast* to imagine that they are not saved, and that their soules are not bound up in the bundle of *eternall life*.

We reade of foure sorts of *spirituall* or *Christian foundations* in the *New Testament*.

First,

First, the *Foundation of all Foundations*, the Corner-stone it selfe, the Lord Jesus, on whom all depend, *Persons, Doctrines, Practices*, 1 Cor. 3. 2. *Ministeriall foundations*. The Church is built upon the foundation of the *Apostles and Prophets*, Ephel. 2. 20.

3. The foundation of future rejoycing in the fruits of Obedience, 1 Tim. 6.

4. The foundation of *Doctrines*, without the knowledge of which, there can be no true profession of Christ, according to the first institution, Heb. 6. The foundation or principles of Repentance from dead works, Faith towards God, the Doctrine of Baptisme, Laying on of Hands, the Resurrection, and Eternall Judgement. In some of these, to wit, those concerning Baptismes, & Laying on of Hands, Gods people will be found to be ignorant for many hundred yeares; and I yet cannot see it proved that light is risen, I mean the light of the first institution, in practice.

Gods people in their persons, Heart-making (Cant. 5. 2.) in the life of personall grace, will yet be found fast asleep in respect of publike Christian Worship.

Gods people (in their persons) are His, most deare and precious: yet in respect of the Christian Worship they are mingled amongst the *Babylonians*, from whence they are called to come out, not locally (as some have said) for that belonged to a materiall and locall Babel, (and, literally Babel and Jerusalem have now no difference, John 4. 21.) but spiritually and mystically to come out from her sins and Abominations.

If Mr. Cotton maintaine the true Church of Christ to consist of the true matter of holy persons call'd out from the World; and the true forme of Union in a Church-Covenant; And that also, neither Nationall, Provinciall, nor Diocesan Churches are of Christs institution: how many Thousands of Gods people of all sorts, (Clergie and Laity, as they call them) will they finde both in former and later times, captivated in such Nationall, Provinciall, and Diocesan Churches? yea and so far from living in, yea or knowing of any such Churches (for matter and forme) as they conceive now only to be true, that untill of late yeares, how few of Gods people knew any other Church then the Parish Church of dead stones or timber? It being a late marvailous light revealed by Christ Jesus the Sun of Righteousnesse, that his people are a Company or Church of living stones, 1 Pet. 2. 9.

And however his own Soule, and the soules of many others (precious to God) are perswaded to separate from Nationall, Provinciall, and Diocesan Churches, and to assemble into particular Churches: yet since

4 sorts of
spirituall
Foundations.

soixix
beuadix.
The fixe
Foundations of the
Christian
Religion
or Worship.

Comming
out of Babel,
not
locall but
mysticall.

The great
Ignorance
of Gods
people
concerning
the Nature
of the true
Church.

Mr. Cotton there are no *Parish Churches* in England, but what are made up of the
 & all the *Parish* bounds within such and such a compasse of *houses*; and that such
 Halfe Se- *Churches* have beene and are in constant dependance on, and subordi-
 perates, nation to the *Nationall Church*: how can the *New-English* particula-
 halting *Churches* joyne with the *Old English Parish Churches* in so many *Ordi-*
 true & fals nances of *Word, Prayer, Singing, Contribution, &c.* but they must needs
 Churches, confesse, that as yet their Soules are farre from the *knowledge* of the *founda-*
 and conse- dation of a true *Christian Church*, whose matter must not only be living
 quently, stones, but also seperated from the *rubbish* of *Antichristian confusions* and
 not yet desolations.

clear in the
 funda-
 mentall
 matter of
 a *Christi-
 Church.*

CHAP. V.

Peace. **W**ith lamentation I may adde: How can their Soules be
 cleare in this *foundation* of the true *Christian* matter,
 who persecute and oppresse their own (acknowledged) Brethren pre-
 senting Light unto them about this Point? But I shall now present you
 with Mr. Cottons third distinction. "In point of Practice (saith he) some
 "concerne the weightier duties of the Law, as, What God we wor-
 "ship, and with what kind of Worship: whether such, as if it be Right,
 "fellowship with God is held; if false, fellowship with God is lost.

Truth. It is worth the inquirie, what kind of *Worship* he intendeth;
 for *Worship* is of various signification: whether in generall acceptation
 he meane the *rightnesse* or *corruptnesse* of the *Church*, or the *Ministry* of
 the *Church*, or the *Ministrations* of the *Word, Prayer, Seales, &c.*

And because it pleaseth the *Spirit of God* to make the *Ministry* one
 of the *foundations* of the *Christian Religion*, (*Heb. 6. 12.*) and also to make
 the *Ministrie* of the *Word* and *Prayer* in the *Church*, to be two speciall
 works (even of the *Apostles* themselves) *Acts 6. 2.* I shall desire it
 may be well considered in the feare of *God*.

First, concerning the *Ministry* of the *Word*; The *New-English Mini-*
sters, when they were new elected & ordained *Ministers* in *New England*,
 must undeniably grant, that at that time they were no *Ministers*, not-
 withstanding their profession of standing so long in a true *Ministry* in
Old England, whether received from the *Bishops* (which some have
 maintained true) or from the *People*, which Mr. Cotton & others better
 liked, and which *Ministrie* was alwayes accounted perpetuall and in-
 delible: I apply; and aske, Will it not follow, that if their new *Mini-*
stry and *Ordination* be true, the former was false? and if false, that in the
 exer-

The true
 Ministrie
 a Funda-
 mentall.

The New
 English
 Ministers
 examined.

exercise of it (notwithstanding *abilities, graces, intentions, labours, and* (by Gods gracious, unpromised, & extraordinary blessing) some *successes*) I say, will it not according to this distinction follow, that according to visible rule, *Fellowship with God* was lost?

Secondly, concerning *Prayer*; The *New-English Ministers* have dis-claimed and written against that *worshipping of God* by the *Common* or set formes of *Prayer*, which yet themselves practised in *England*, notwithstanding they knew that many servants of *God* in great sufferings, witnessed against such a *Ministrie of the Word*, and such a *Ministrie of Prayer*.

Common Prayer cast off, & written against by the New-English.

Peace. I could name the persons, time and place, when some of them were faithfully admonished for using of the *Common prayer*, and the Arguments presented to them; then seeming weak, but now acknowledged sound: yet at that time they satisfied their hearts with the practice of the *Author of the Councell of Trent*, who used to read only some of the choicest selected Prayers in the *Mass-booke*, (which I confesse was also their own practice in their using of the *Common-Prayer*.) But now according to this distinction, I ask whether or no fellowship with *God* in such prayers was lost.

Truth. I could particularize other exercises of *Worship*, which cannot be denied (according to this distinction) to be of the weightier points of the *Law*, to wit, [What *God* we worship, and with what kind of worship:] wherein fellowship with *God* (in many of our unclean and abominable *Worships*) hath been lost. Only upon these premises I shall observe. First, that *Gods people*, even the *standard-bearers* and *leaders* of them (according to this distinction) have worshipped *God* (in their sleepy ignorance) by such a kind of *Worship*, as wherein fellowship with *God* is lost; yea also this it is possible for them to do, after much light is risen against such *Worship*, and in particular, brought to the eyes of such *holy* and *worthy* persons.

Gods people have worshipped *God* with false worships.

Secondly, there may be inward and secret fellowship with *God* in false *Ministeries of Word and Prayer*, (for that to the eternall prayse of *Infinite Mercy* beyond a word or promise of *God* I acknowledge) when yet (as the distinction saith) in such *worship* (not being right) fellowship with *God* is lost, and such a *service* or *ministration* must be lamented and forsaken.

It pleaseth God sometimes, beyond his promise, to convey blessings

Thirdly, I observe that *Gods people* may live and die in such kindes of *worship*, notwithstanding that light from *God* publikely and privately, hath beene presented to them, able to convince: yet not reaching to their

& comfort to His, in false worships.

Funda-
mentals
of Chri-
stian wor-
ship not so
easie and
cleare.

their *conviction* and forsaking of such wayes, contrary to a *conclusion* afterward exprest, to wit, [That *fundamentals* are so cleere, that a man cannot but be convinced in *Conscience*, and therefore that such a person not being convinced, he is *condemned of himselfe*, and may be *persecuted* for sinning against his *conscience*.]

Fourthly, I observe that in such a maintaining a clearnesse of *fundamentals* or waightier *points*, and upon that ground a persecuting of men, because they sinne against their *consciences*, Mr. Cotton measures that to *others*, which himselfe when he lived in such *practices*, would not have had measured to himselfe. As first, that it might have beene affirmed of him, that in such *practices* he did sinne against his *conscience*, having sufficient light shining about him.

Secondly, that hee should or might lawfully have beene cut off by death or banishment, as an *Hereticke*, sinning against his owne *conscience*.

A notable
speech of
K. James to
a great
non-con-
formist,
turned
persecuter.

And in this respect the Speech of King James was notable to a great *Non-conformitant* converted (as is said by King James) to *conformity*, and counselling the King afterward to persecute the *Non-conformists* even unto death: Thou *Beast* (quoth the King) if I had dealt so with thee in thy *non-conformity*, where hadst thou beene?

CHAP. VI.

The 4.
distinction
discussed.

Peace. The next *distinction* concerning the manner of persons holding forth the afore said *practices* (not onely the waightier duties of the *Law*, but points of *doctrine* and *worship* lesse principall.)

“Some (saith he) hold them forth in a meeke and peaceable way: some
“with such arrogance and *impertuousnesse*, as of it selfe tendeth to the
“disturbance of *civill peace*.”

Truth. In the examination of this *distinction* we shall discusse,

First, what is *civill Peace*, (wherein we shall vindicate thy name the better.)

Secondly, what it is to hold forth a Doctrine or Practice in this *impertuousnesse* or arrogance.

What ci-
vill peace
is.

First, for *civill peace*, what is it but *pax civitatis*, the peace of the Citie, whether an *English City*, *Scotch*, or *Irish Citie*, or further abroad, *French*, *Spanisb*, *Turkish City*, &c.

Thus it pleased the Father of *Lights* to define it, *Ierem.* 29. 7. Pray for the *peace* of the *City*; which *peace* of the *City*, or *Citizens*, so compacted in a *civill way* of *union*, may be intire, unbroken, safe, &c. not with-

withstanding so many thousands of *Gods people* the *Jewes*, were there in *bondage*, and would neither be *constrained* to the *worship* of the *Citie Babel*, nor restrained from so much of the *worship* of the true *God*, as they then could practice, as is plaine in the practice of the 3 *Worthies*, *Shadrach*, *Misach*, and *Abednego*, as also of *Daniel*, *Dan.3. & Dan.6.* (the peace of the *City* or *Kingdome*, being a far different Peace from the Peace of the *Religion* or *Spirituell Worship*, maintained & professed of the *Citizens*. This *Peace* of their *Worship* (which *worship* also in some *Cities* being various) being a false Peace, *Gods people* were and ought to be *Nonconformitants*, not daring either to be restrained from the true, or constrained to false *Worship*, and yet without breach of the *Civill* or *Citie-peace*, properly so called.

Gods people must be *Nonconformitants* to *Evill*.

Peace. Hence it is that so many glorious and flourishing *Cities* of the *World* maintaine their *Civill* peace, yea the very *Americans* & wildest *Pagans* keep the peace of their *Towns* or *Cities*; though neither in one nor the other can any man prove a true *Church* of *God* in those places, and consequently no *spirituall* and heavenly peace: The Peace *spirituall* (whether true or false) being of a higher and farre different nature from the Peace of the place or people, being meerly and essentially *civill* and *humane*.

The difference between *Spirituell* and *Civill* Peace.

Truth. O how lost are the tonnes of men in this point? To illustrate this: The *Church* or company of worshippers (whether true or false) is like unto a *Body* or *Colledge* of *Physitians* in a *Citie*; like unto a *Corporation*, *Society*, or *Company* of *East-Indie* or *Turkie-Merchants*, or any other *Societie* or *Company* in *London*: which Companies may hold their *Courts*, keep their *Records*, hold *disputations*; and in matters concerning their *Societie*, may dissent, divide, breake into *Schismes* and *Factions*, sue and implead each other at the *Law*, yea wholly breake up and dissolve into pieces and nothing, and yet the peace of the *Citie* not be in the least measure impaired or disturbed; because the *essence* or being of the *Citie*, and so the *well-being* and *peace* thereof is essentially distinct from those particular *Societies*; the *Citie-Courts*, *Citie-Lanes*, *Citie-punishments* distinct from theirs. The *Citie* was before them, and stands absolute and intire, when such a *Corporation* or *Societie* is taken down. For instance further, The *City* or *Civill* state of *Ephesus* was essentially distinct from the *worship* of *Diana* in the *Citie*, or of the *whole city*. Again, the *Church* of *Christ* in *Ephesus* (which were *Gods people*, converted and call'd out from the *worship* of that *City* unto *Christianitie* or *worship* of *God* in *Christ*) was distinct from both.

The difference between the *Spirituell* and *Civill* State.

The Civil
State, the
Spirituell
estate, and
the Church
of Christ
distinct in
Ephesus.

Now suppose that *God* remove the *Candlestick* from *Ephesus*, yea though the *whole Worship* of the *Citie of Ephesus* should be altered: yet (if men be true and honestly ingenuous to *Citie-covenants, Combinations* and *Principles*) all this might be without the least impeachment or infringement of the *Peace* of the *City of Ephesus*.

Thus in the *Citie of Smirna* was the *Citie* it selfe or *Civill estate* one thing, The *Spirituell* or *Religious state* of *Smirna*, another; The *Church of Christ* in *Smirna*, distinct from them both; and the *Synagogue* of the *Jewes*, whether literally *Jewes* (as some thinke) or mystically, false *Christians*, (as others) called the *Synagogue of Satan*, Revel. 2. distinct from all these. And notwithstanding these *spirituell* oppositions in point of *Worship* and *Religion*, yet heare we not the least noyle (nor need we, if Men keep but the *Bond of Civility*) of any *Civill breach*, or *breach of Civill peace* amongst them: and to persecute *Gods people* there for *Religion*, that only was a *breach of Civilitie* it selfe.

CHAP. VII.

Peace. NOW to the second Quærie, What it is to hold forth *Doctrine* or *Practice* in an arrogant or impetuous way?

The Answerer too
obscure in
generalls.

Truth. Although it hath not pleased Mr. Cotton to declare what is this *arrogant* or *impetuous* holding forth of *Doctrine* or *Practice* tending to disturbance of *Civill peace*, I cannot but expresse my sad and sorrowfull observation, how it pleaseth *God* to leave him, as to take up the common reproachfull *accusation* of the *Accuser* of *Gods children*; to wit, that they are arrogant and impetuous: which charge (together with that of *obstinacie, pertinacie, pride, Troublers* of the *Citie*, &c.) *Sathan* commonly loads the meekest of the *Saints* and *Witnesses* of *Jesus* with.

Gods meekest
servants use
to be counted
arrogant and
impetuous,
6 cases
wherein
Gods people
have been bold
& zealous,
yet not arrogant.

To wipe off therefore these fowle blurs and aspersions from the faire and beautifull face of the *Spouse of Jesus*, I shall select and propose 5 or 6 cases, for which *Gods witnesses* in all Ages and Generations of Men, have been charged with *arrogance, impetuousnes*, &c. and yet the *God of Heaven*, and *Judge* of all men, hath graciously discharged them from such crimes, and maintained and avowed them for his *faithfull* and *peaceable* servants.

First, *Gods people* have proclaimed, taught, disputed for divers months together, a *new Religion* and *Worship*, contrary to the *Worship* projected in

in the *Towne, City, or State*, where they have lived, or where they have travelled, as did the *Lord Jesus Himselfe* over all *Galile*, and the *Apostles* after Him in all places, both in the *Synagogues* and *Market-places*, as appears *Acts 17.2.17. Acts 18.48.* Yet this no *Arrogance* nor *Impetuousnesse*.

Secondly, *Gods servants* have been *zealous* for their *Lord and Master*, even to the very faces of the Highest, and concerning the persons of the Highest, so far as they have opposed the *Truth of God*: So *Eliab* to the face of *Ahab*, It is not *I*, but *thou*, and thy *Fathers house* that troublest *Israel*: So the *Lord Jesus* concerning *Herod*, Goe tell that *Fox*: So *Paul*, God delivered me from the mouth of the *Lion*; and to *Ananias*, Thou whited wall, and yet in all this no *Arrogance*, nor *Impetuousnesse*.

Thirdly, *Gods people* have been *immoveable, constant* and *resolved* to the death, in refusing to submit to false *Worships*, and in *preaching* and *professing* the true worship, contrary to expresse command of *publicke Authority*: So the three famous *Worthies* against the command of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the uniforme conformity of all *Nations* agreeing upon a false worship, *Dan. 3.* So the *Apostles* (*Acts 4* and *5* chap.) and so the witnesses of *Jesus* in all ages, who loved not their lives to the death (*Rev. 12.*) not regarding sweet life nor bitter death, and yet not *Arrogant*, nor *Impetuous*.

Fourthly, *Gods people* since the coming of the *King of Israel*, the *Lord Jesus*, have openly and constantly profest, that no *Civill Magistrate*, no *King* nor *Cesar* have any power over the *Soules* or *Consciences* of their Subjects, in the matters of *God* and the *Crowne of Jesus*, but the *Civill Magistrates* themselves; yea *Kings* and *Keisars* are bound to subject their owne *Soules* to the *Ministry* and *Church*, the *Power* and *Government* of this *Lord Jesus*, the *King of Kings*. Hence was the charge against the *Apostles* (false in *Civill*, but true in *spiritualls*) that they affirmed that there was another *King*, one *Jesus*, *Acts 17.7.* And indeed, this was the great charge against the *Lord Jesus Himselfe*, which the *Jews* laid against Him, and for which he suffered Death, as appears by the *Accusation* written over His Head upon the *Gallows*, *Iohn 9.19.* *Jesus of Nazareth King of the Jewes.*

This was and is the summe of all true preaching of the *Gospell* or glad newes, viz. That God anointed *Jesus* to be the sole *King* and *Governour* of all the *Israel of God* in *spirituall* and *soule* causes, *Psal. 2.6. Acts 2.36.* Yet this *Kingly power* of His he resolved not to man-

Christ Jesus and his *Disciples* teach publicly a new Doctrine, fundamentally different from the Religion professed. *Gods servants* zealous and bold to the faces of the Highest. *Gods people* constantly immoveable to death.

Gods people ever maintained *Christ Jesus* the only *Lord* and *King* to the conscience.

That *Christ* is *King* alone over conscience is the sum of all true preaching

age in His owne Person, but Ministerially in the hands of such Messengers which he sent forth to preach and baptise, and to such as beleevd that word they preached, *Iohn 17.* And yet here no *Arrogance* nor *Impetuousnesse*.

Gods
people
have
seemed
the
disturbers
of
Civill
State.

5. *Gods people* in delivering the Minde and Will of God concerning the Kingdomes and Civill States where they have lived, have seemed in all shew of common sense and rationall policie (if men looke not higher with the eye of faith) to endanger and overthrow the very Civill State, as appeareth by all *Jeremies* preaching and counsell to King *Zedechia*, his Princes and people, insomuch that the charge of the Princes against *Jeremiah* was, that he discouraged the Army from fighting against the Babylonians, and weakned the Land from its own defence, and this charge in the eye of reason, seemed not to be unreasonable or unrighteous, *Jer. 37. 38.* chapters, and yet in *Jeremy* no *Arrogance* nor *Impetuousnesse*.

Gods
word
and
people
the
occa-
sion
of
tumults.

6. Lastly, *Gods people* by their preaching, disputing, &c. have beene (though not the cause) yet accidentally the occasion of great contentions and divisions; yea tumults and uproares in Townes and Cities where they have lived and come, and yet neither their Doctrine nor themselves *Arrogant* nor *Impetuous*, however so charged: For thus the Lord Jesus discovereth mens false and secure suppositions, *Luke 11. 51.* Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on the earth? I tell you nay, but rather division, for from hence forth shall there be five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three, the father shall be divided against the sonne, and the sonne against the father, &c. And thus upon the occasion of the Apostles preaching, the Kingdome and Worship of God in Christ, were most commonly uproares and tumults, where ever they came: For instance, those strange and monstrous uproares at *Iconium*, at *Ephesus*, at *Jerusalem*, *Acts 14. 4.* *Acts 19. 29. 40.* *Acts 21. vers. 30, 31.*

CHAP. VIII.

Peace. IT will be said (deare *Truth*) what the Lord Jesus and his Messengers taught was *Truth*, but the question is about *Errour*.

Truth. I answer, this distinction now in discussion, concerns not *Truth*, or *Errour*, but the manner of holding forth or divulging.

I acknowledge that such may bee the way and manner of holding forth, (either with railing or reviling, daring or chalinging speeches, or with force of Armes, Swords, Guns, Prisons, &c.) that it may not only tend to breake, but may actually breake the civill peace, or peace of the Citie.

Yet these instances propounded are cases of great opposition and spiritnall hostility, and occasions of breach of civill peace : and yet as the borders (or matter) were of gold : so the speckes (or manner, *Caustic. 1.*) were of silver : both matter and manner, pure, holy, peaceable, and inoffensive.

Moreover, I answer, that it is possible and common for persons of soft and gentle nature and spirits to hold out fallhood with more seeming meeknesse and peaceablenesse, then the Lord Jesus or his servants did or doe hold forth the true and everlasting Gospell. So that the answerer would be requested to explain what he means by this arrogant and impetuous holding forth of any doctrine, which very manner of holding forth tends to breake civill peace, and comes under the cognisance and correction of the Civill Magistrate : Left hee build the Sepulchre of the Prophets, and say, If we had been in the Pharises daies, the Romane Emperours dayes, or the bloody *Marian* dayes, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the Prophets, *Mat. 23. 30.* who were charged with arrogance and impetuoufnesse.

The instances proposed carry a great shew of impetuoufnesse, yet all are pure and peaceable.

CHAP. IX.

Ob. It will here be said, Whence then ariseth civill dissentions and uproares about matters of Religion?

Truth. I answer : When a Kingdome or State, Towne or Family, lyes and lives in the guilt of a false God, false Christ, false worship : no wonder if sore eyes be troubled at the appearance of the light, be it never so sweet : No wonder if a body full of corrupt humours be troubled at strong (though wholesome) Physick ? If persons sleepe and loathing to sleepe be troubled at the noise of shrill (though silver) alarums : No wonder if *Adonijah* and all his company be amazed and troubled at the sound of the right Heyre King *Salomon*, *1 King. 1.* If the Husbandmen were troubled when the Lord of the Vineyard sent servant after servant, and at last his onely Sonne, and they beat, and wounded, and kill'd even the Sonne himselfe, because they meant themselves to seize upon the inheritance, unto which they had no right, *Matth. 21. 38.*

The true cause of tumults at the preaching of the Word.

Hence all those tumults about the Apostles in the *Acts*, &c. whereas good eyes are not so troubled at light ; vigilant and watchfull persons lo yall and faithfull, are not so troubled at the true, no nor at a false Religion of Jew or Gentile.

A prepo-
sterous
way of
suppressing
errours.

Secondly, breach of civil peace may arise, when false and idolatrous practices are held forth, & yet no breach of civil peace from the doctrine or practice ; or the manner of holding forth, but from that wrong and preposterous way of suppressing, preventing, and extinguishing such doctrines or practices by weapons of wrath and blood, whips, stockes, imprisonment, banishment, death, &c. by which men commonly are perswaded to convert Heretickes, and to cast out uncleane spirits, which onely the finger of God can doe, that is the mighty power of the Spirit in the Word.

Light on-
ly can ex-
pell fogs
and dark-
nesse.

Hence the Towne is in an uproare, and the Country takes the Alarm to expell that fog or mist of Errour, Heresie, Blasphemy, (as is supposed) with Swords and Guns ; whereas tis Light alone, even Light from the bright shining Sunne of Righteousnesse, which is able, in the soules and consciences of men to dispell and scatter such fogges and darknesse.

Hence the Sons of men, (as *David* speaks in another case, *Psalm* 39.) disquiet themselves in vaine, and unmercifully disquiet others, as (by the helpe of the Lord) in the sequell of this discourse shall more appeare.

CHAP. X.

Peace. **N**OW the last distinction is this : " Persecution for Conscience, is either for a rightly informed conscience, or a "blinde and erroneous conscience.

Ans. Truth. Indeed both these consciences are persecuted : but lamentably blinde and erroneous will these consciences shortly appear to be, which out of zeale for God (as is pretended) have persecuted either. And heavie is the doome of those blinde Guides and Idoll Shepherds (whose right eye Gods finger of jealousie hath put out) who flattering the ten Hornes or worldly Powers, perswade them what excellent and faithfull service they performe to God, in persecuting both these consciences : either hanging up a rightly informed conscience, and therein the Lord Jesus himselfe, betweene two malefactors, or else killing the erroneous and the blinde, like *Saul* (out of zeale to the Is-

Persecu-
tors op-
presse both
true and
erroneous
conscien-
ces.

rael

tel of God) the poore Gibeonites, whom it pleased God to permit to
 ve : and yet that hostility and cruelty used against them (as the repea-
 ed judgement yeare after yeare upon the whole Land after told them)
 ould not be pardoned, untill the death of the persecutor *Saul* his sons
 ad appeased the Lords displeasure, 2 *Sam.* 21.

CHAP. XI.

Peace. **A**fter explication in these Distinctions, it pleaseth the An-
 swerer to give his resolution to the question, in foure parti-
 culars.

First, that he holds it not lawfull to persecute any for conscience
 sake rightly informed; for in persecuting such (saith he) Christ himself
 persecuted: for which reason, truly rendred, he quotes *Act.* 9. 4. *Saul,*
Saul, why persecutest thou me?

Truth. He that shall reade this Conclusion over a thousand times,
 shall as soone finde darknesse in the bright beames of the Sunne, as in
 this so cleare and shining a beame of Truth, viz. That Christ Jesus in
 is Truth must not be persecuted.

Yet this I must aske (for it will be admired by all sober men) what
 should be the cause or inducement to the Answerers mind to lay down
 such a Position or Thesis as this is, *It is not lawfull to persecute the Lord*
Jesus.

Search all Scriptures, Histories, Records, Monuments, consult with
 all experiences, did ever *Pharaoh*, *Saul*, *Ahab*, *Jezebel*, Scribes and
 Pharises, the Jewes, *Herod*, the bloody *Neroes*, *Gardiners*, *Boners*, Pope
 or Devill himselfe, professe to persecute the Son of God, Jesus as Jesus,
 Christ as Christ, without a mask or covering?

No, saith *Pharaoh*, the Israelites are idle, and therefore speake they
 of sacrificing : *David* is risen up in a conspiracy against *Saul*, there-
 fore persecute him : *Naboth* hath blasphemed God and the King, there-
 fore stone him : *Christ* is a seducer of the people, a blasphemor against
 God, and traytor against *Cesar*, therefore hang him : Christians are
 schismaticall, factious, hereticall, therefore persecute them : The De-
 vill hath deluded *John Hus*, therefore crowne him with a paper of De-
 vils, and burne him, &c.

Peace. One thing I see apparantly in the Lords over-ruling the pen
 of this worthy Answerer, viz. a secret whispering from heaven to him,
 that (although his soules ayme at Christ, and hath wrought much for

All perse-
 cutors of
 Christ
 professe
 not to per-
 secute him

Christ

All persecutors of Christ, profess not to persecute him

Christ in many sincere intentions, and Gods mercifull and patient acceptance) yet he hath never left the Tents of such who think they doe God good service in killing the Lord Jesus in his servants, and yet they say, if we had beene in the dayes of our Fathers in Queene *Mari* dayes, &c. we would never have consented to such persecution: And therefore when they persecute Christ Jesus in his truths or servants, they say, Doe not say you are persecuted for the Word for Christ his sake, for we hold it not lawfull to persecute Iesus Christ.

Let me also adde a second; So farre as he hath beene a Guide (by preaching for persecution) I say, wherein he hath beene a Guide and Leader, by mis-interpreting and applying the Writings of Truth, so far I say his owne mouthes and hands shall judge (I hope not his persons, but) his actions, for the Lord Jesus hath suffered by him, *Act. 9. 3.* and if the Lord Jesus himselfe were present, himselfe should suffer that in his owne person, which his servants witnessing his Truth doe suffer for his sake.

CHAP. XII.

Peace. **T**Heir second Conclusion is this: "It is not lawfull to persecute an erroneous and blinde conscience, even in fundamentall and weighty points, till after admonition once or twice, *Tit. 3. 11.* and then such consciences may be persecuted, because the Word of God is so cleare in fundamentall and weighty points, that such a person cannot but sin against his conscience, and so being condemned of himselfe, that is, of his conscience, hee may be persecuted for sinning against his owne conscience.

Truth. I answer, in that great battell betweene the Lord Jesus and the Devill, it is observable that Sathan takes up the weapons of Scripture, and such Scripture which in shew and colour was excellent for his purpose: but in this 3. of *Titus*, as *Salomon* speakes of the Birds of heaven, *Prov. 1.* a man may evidently see the snare; and I know the time is comming wherein it shall bee said, Surely in vaine the Net is laid in the sight of the Saints (heavenly Birds.)

So palpably grosse and thicke is the mist and fog which Sathan hath raised about this Scripture, that he that can but see men as trees in matters of Gods worship, may easily discern what a wonderfull deepe sleepe Gods people are fallen into concerning the visible Kingdome of Christ, in so much that this third of *Titus* which through fearfull prophana-

phanations, hath so many hundred years been the pretended Bulwark and defence of all the bloody Wolves, dens of Lions, and mountains of Leopards, hunting and devouring the Witneses of Jesus, should now be the refuge and defence of (as I hope) the Lambes and little ones of Jesus, yet (in this point) so preaching and practising so unlike to themselves, to the Lord Jesus, and lamentably too like to His and their Persecutors.

CHAP. XIII.

Peace. **B**Right *Truth*, since this place of *Titus* is such a pretended Bulwark for persecuting of Hereticks, & under that pretence of persecuting all thy followers, I beseech you by the bright beames of the Sun of Righteousnesse, scatter these mists, and unfold these particulars out of the Text :

First, What this Man is that is an Hereticke.

Secondly, How this Hereticke is condemned of himselfe.

Thirdly, What is this first and second Admonition, and by whom it is supposed to be given.

Fourthly, What is this rejecting of Him, and by whom it is supposed this Rejection was to be made.

Truth. First, What is this Hereticke? I find him commonly defined to be such an one as is obstinate in Fundamentalls, and so also I conceive the Answerer seems to reent him, saying, That the Apostle renders this reason, why after once and twice Admonition, he ought to be persecuted, because in fundamentall and principall points of Doctrine and Worship, the Word of God is so cleare, that the Hereticke cannot but be convinced in his owne Conscience.

But of this reason, I finde not one tittle mentioned in this Scripture; for although he saith such an one is condemned of himselfe, yet he saith not, nor will it follow that fundamentalls are so cleare, that after first and second Admonition, a person that submits not to them is condemned of himselfe, any more then in lesser points. This 11 verse hath reference to the former verses. *Titus* an Evangelist, a Preacher of glad Newes, abiding here with the Church of Christ at Crete, is required by *Paul* to avoid, to reject, and to teach the Church to reject Genealogies, disputes, and unprofitable questions about the Law : Such a like charge it is as he gave to *Timothy*, left also an Evangelist at Ephesus, 1 *Tim.* 1.4.

What is
meant by
Hereticke
in *Titus*.

If it should be objected what is to be done to such contentious vain strivers about Genealogies and questions unprofitable? The Apostle seems plainly to answer, Let him be once and twice admonished.

Ob. Yea, but what if once and twice admonition prevaile not?

The Apostle seems to answer, ἀρνησάτω ἀνδρῶπον, and that is, the man that is wilfully obstinate after such once and twice admonition, Reject him.

With this Scripture agrees that of 1 Tim. 6. 4, 5. where *Timothy* is commanded to withdraw himselfe from such who dote about questions and strife of words.

All which are points of a lower and inferiour nature, not properly falling within the teatims or notions of those (σοφιστικὰ) first principles and (θεωρητικὰ) foundations of the Christian Profession, to wit, Repentance from dead workes, Faith towards God, the doctrine of Baptismes, and of laying on of hands, the Resurrection, and eternall Judgement, Heb. 6. 2. &c.

Concerning these Fundamentalls (although nothing is so little in the Christian Worship, but may be referred to one of these six, yet) doth not *Paul* to *Timothy* or *Titus* speake in those places by me alledged, or of any of these, as may evidently appeare by the context and scope?

The beloved Spouse of Christ is no receptracle for any filthy person, obstinate in any filthynesse against the purity of the Lord Jesus, who hath commanded his people to purge out the old leaven, not only greater portions, but a little leaven which will leaven the whole lump; and therefore this Hereticke or obstinate person in these vaine and unprofitable questions, was to be rejected, as well as if his obstinacie had been in greater matters.

Againe, if there were a doore or window left open to vaine and unprofitable questions, and sinnes of smaller nature, how apt are persons to cover with a silken covering, and to say, Why, I am no Hereticke in Fundamentalls, spare me in this or that little one; this or that opinion or practice, these are of an inferiour circumstantiall nature &c.

So that the coherence with the former verses, and the scope of the Spirit of God in this and other like Scriptures being carefully observed, this Greek word Hereticke is no more in true English and in Truth, then an obstinate and wilfull person in the Church of Crete, striving and contending about those unprofitable Questions and Genealogies, &c. and is not such a monster intended in this place, as most Interpreters run upon, to wit, One obstinate in Fundamentalls, and as the Answerer makes the

The word
Hereticke
generally
mistaken.

Apostle to write in such *Fundamentalls* and *principall points*, wherein the Word of *God* is so cleare that a man cannot but be convinced in *conscience*, and therefore is not persecuted for matter of *conscience*, but for sinning against his *conscience*.

CHAP. XIV.

Peace. **N**OW in the second place, What is this *Self-condemnation*? *Truth.* The *Apostle* seemeth to make this a ground of therejecting of such a person, because he is *subverted* and *sinneeth*, being condemned of himselfe: It will appeare upon due search that this *self-condemning* is not here intended to be in Hereticks (as men say) in *fundamentalls* only, but as it is meant here, in men obstinate in the lesser Questions, &c.

First, he is *subverted* or turned crooked, *ἐκπεσπαι*, a word opposite to *streightnesse* or *rightnesse*: So that the scope is, as I conceive, upon true and faithfull *admonition* once or twice, the pride of heart, or heat of *wrath*, drawes a *vaile* over the eyes and heart, so that the soule is turned loosed and from the checks of *truth*.

Secondly, he *sinneeth*, *ἀποστρεφει*, that is, being *subverted* or turned aside; he *sinneeth* or wanders from the path of *Truth*, and is condemned by himselfe *αὐτοῦ καταδικάζει*, that is, by the secret checks and whisperings of his owne *conscience*, which will take *Gods* part against a mans selfe, in smiting, accusing, &c.

Checks of
conscience

Which checks of *conscience* we finde even in *Gods* owne dear people, as is most admirably opened in the 5 of *Cant.* in those sad, drowisie and unkinde passages of the *Sponse* in her answer to the knocks and calls of the *Lord Jesus*; which *Gods* people in all their awakening acknowledge how sleightly they have listned to the checks of their owne *consciences*. This the *Answerer* pleaseth to, call sinning against his *conscience*, for which he may lawfully be persecuted, to wit, for sinning against his *conscience*.

Which conclusion (though painted over with the *vermillion* of mistaken *Scripture*, and that old dreame of Jew and Gentile, that the Crowne of *Jesus* will consist of outward *materiall gold*, and his sword be made of iron or Steele, executing judgement in his Church and Kingdom by corporal punishment) I hope (by the assistance of the *Lord Jesus*) to manifest it to be the overturning and rooting up the very foundation and

roots of all true *Christianity*, and absolutely denying the *Lord Jesus* the Great *Anointed* to be yet come in the *Flesh*.

CHAP. XV.

THis will appeare, if we examine the two last *Quaries* of this place of *Titus*: to wit,

First, What this *Admonition* is?

Secondly, What is the *Rejection* here intended? *Reject* him.

What is
the first &
second ad-
monition.

First then, *Titus*, unto whom this *Epistle* & these *directions* were written, (and in him to all that succeed him in the like work of the *Gospel* to the Worlds end) he was no *Minister* of the *Civill State*, armed with the *majestie* and *terroure* of a *materiall sword*, who might for *offences* against the *civill state*, inflict *punishments* upon the *bodies* of men, by *imprisonments*, *whippings*, *fines*, *banishment*, *death*. *Titus* was a *Minister* of the *Gospel* or *Glad tidings*, armed onely with the *Spirituall sword* of the *Word of God*, and such *Spirituall weapons* as (yet) through *God* were mighty to the casting down of *strong holds*, yea every *high thought* of the *highest head* and *heart* in the world, 2 Cor. 10.4.

What the
rejection
of the He-
retick was.

Therefore these first and second *Admonitions* were not *civill* or *corporall* punishments on mens *persons* or *purses*, which the *Courts* of Men may lawfully inflict upon *Malefactors*: but they were the *reprehensions*, *convictions*, *exhortations*, and *perswasions* of the *Word* of the *Eternall God*, charged home to the *Conscience*, in the name and presence of the *Lord Jesus*, in the midst of the *Church*. Which being despised and not hearkned to, in the last place followes *rejection*; which is not a cutting off by *beheading*, *hanging*, *burning*, &c. or an expelling of the *Country* and *Coasts*: neither which (no nor any lesser *civill punishment*) *Titus* nor the *Church* at *Crete* had any power to exercise. But it was that dreadfull cutting off from that visible *Head* and *Body*, *Christ Jesus* and his *Church*; that *purging* out of the *old leaven* from the *lump* of the *Saints*; the putting away of the *evill* and wicked person from the holy *Land* and *Commonwealth* of *Gods Israel*, 1 Cor. 5. where it is observable, that the same word used by *Moses* for putting a malefactor to death in typical *Israel*, by *sword*, *stoning*, &c. Deut. 13.5. is here used by *Paul* for the *spirituall killing* or cutting off by *Excommunication*, 1 Cor. 5.13. Put away that *evill person*, &c.

Corporall
killing in
the Law,
typing out
Spirituall
killing by
Excom-
municati-
on in the
Gospel.

Now I desire the Answerer, and any, in the holy awe and feare of *God* to consider, That

From

From whom the *first* and *second Admonition* was to proceed, from them also was the *rejetting* or casting out to proceed, as before. But not from the *Civill Magistrate* (to whom *Paul* writes not this *Epistle*, and who also is not bound once and twice to admonish, but may speedily punish, as he sees cause, the persons or purses of *Delinquents* against his *Civill State* :) but from *Titus* the *Minister* or *Angel* of the *Church*, and from the *Church* with him, were these *first* and *second Admonitions* to proceed; And Therefore at last also this *Rejetting*, which can be no other but a casting out, or *excommunicating* of him from their *Church-societie*.

Indeed, this *rejetting* is no other then that *avoyding* which *Paul* writes of to the *Church* of *Christ* at *Rome*, *Rom. 16. 17.* which *avoyding* (however wofully perverted by some to prove persecution) belonged to the *Governours* of *Christs Church & Kingdom* in *Rome*, and not to the *Romane Emperour* for him to rid and avoyd the *World* of them, by bloody and cruell *Persecution*.

CHAP. XVI.

Peace. **T**he third Conclusion is; In points of lesser moment, there ought to be a *Toleration*. Which though I acknowledge to be the Truth of God; yet 3 things are very observable in the manner of laying it down; for *Sathan* useth excellent arrowes to bad markes, and sometimes beyond the *intent*, and hidden from the eye of the *Archer*.

First (saith he) such a person is to be tolerated, till *God* may be pleased to reveale his Truth to him.

Truth. This is well observed by you; for indeed this is the very ground why the *Apostle* calls for meekenesse and gentlenesse toward all men, and toward such as oppose themselves, *2 Tim. 2.* because there is a peradventure or it may be; It may be *God* may give them *Repentance*. That *God* that hath shewen mercy to one, may shew mercy to another: It may be that eye-salve that anointed one mans eye who was blinde and opposite, may anoint another as blinde and opposite: He that hath given *Repentance* to the husband, may give it to his wife, &c.

Hence that Soule that is lively and sensible of mercy received to it selfe in former blindness, opposition and enmitie against *God*, cannot but be patient and gentle toward the *Jewes*, who yet deny the *Lord Je-*

The third Conclusion discussed.

Sathans policie.

The Answerer granteth a Toleration.

Patience to be used toward the opposite.

The carriage of a Soule sensible of mercy, toward other sinners in their blindness and opposition. *Jesus* to be come, and justify their *Fore-fathers* in murdering of him: Toward the *Turkes*, who acknowledge *Christ* a great Prophet, yet affirm lesse than *Mahomet*. Yea to all the severall sorts of *Antichristians*, who set up many a false *Christ* in stead of him. And lastly to the *Pagans* and wildest sorts of the sons of men, who have not yet heard of the *Father*, nor the *Son*. And to all these sorts, *Jewes*, *Turkes*, *Antichristians*, *Pagans*, when they oppose the light presented to them; In sense of its own former opposition, and that *God* peradventure may at last give repentance: I adde, such a Soule will not onely be patient, but earnestly and constantly pray for all sorts of men, that out of them *Gods* elect may be called to the fellowship of *Christ Jesus*. And lastly, not only pray, but endeavour (to its utmost abilitie) their participation of the same *grace* and *mercy*.

That great *Rock* upon which so many gallant Ships miscarrie, viz. That such persons, false Prophets, Hereticks, &c. were to be put to death in *Israel*, I shall (with *Gods* assistance) remove: as also that fine filken covering of the *Image*, viz. that such persons ought to be put to death or banished, to prevent the infelling and seducing of others, I shall (with *Gods* assistance) in the following discourse pluck off.

The Answerer
foundeth the
Churches
in Philippi
and Rome
with the
Cities Philippi
and Rome.

Secondly, I observe from the Scriptures he quoteth for this *Tolerati-on*, (*Phil. 3. & Rom. 14.*) how closely, yet I hope unadvisedly, he makes the Churches of *Christ* at *Philippi* and *Rome*, all one with the Cities *Philippi* and *Rome*, in which the Churches were, and to whom onely *Paul* wrote. As if what these Churches in *Philippi* and *Rome* must tolerate amongst themselves, that the Cities *Philippi* and *Rome* must tolerate in their citizens: and what these Churches must not tolerate, that these Cities *Philippi* and *Rome* must not tolerate within the compasse of the City, State and Jurisdiction.

Truth. Upon that ground, by undeniable consequence, these Cities *Philippi* and *Rome* were bound not to tolerate themselves, that is, the Cities and Citizens of *Philippi* and *Rome*, in their own Civill life and being, but must kill or expell themselves from their own Cities, as being Idolatrous worshippers of other gods then the true *God* in *Jesus Christ*.

But as the *Lilie* is amongst the *Thornes*, so is *Christs Love* among the *Daughters*: and as the *Apple-tree* among the *Trees* of the *Forrest*, so is her *Beloved* among the *Sons*: so great a difference is there between the Church in a Citie or Country, and the Civill state, City or Country in which it is.

Difference
between
the Church
and the
World.

No lesse then (as *David* in another case, *Psal. 103.* as far as the *Heavens* are from the *Earth*) are they that are truly *Christs* (that is, anointed truly with the Spirit of *Christ*) from many thousands who love not the *Lord Iesus Christ*, and yet are and must be permitted in the *World* or *Civill State*, although they have no right to enter into the gates of *Jerusalem* the *Church* of *God*.

And this is the more carefally to be minded, because when ever a *Toleration* of others *Religion* and *Conscience* is pleaded for, such as are (I hope in truth) zealous for *God*, readily produce plenty of *Scriptures* written to the *Church*, both before and since *Christs* coming, all commanding and pressing the putting forth of the *uncleane*, the cutting off the *obstinate*, the purging out the *Leaven*, rejecting of *Hereticks*. As if because *briars*, *thornes*, and *thistles* may not be in the *Garden* of the *Church*, therefore they must all bee pluckt up out of the *Wildernesse*: whereas he that is a *Briar*, that is, a *Jew*, a *Turke*, a *Pagan*, an *Anti-christian* to day, may be (when the Word of the *Lord* runs freely) a member of *Iesus Christ* to morrow cut out of the wilde *Olive*, and planted into the true.

Peace. Thirdly, from this *toleration* of persons but holding lesser errors, I observe the *unmercifulnesse* of such *doctrines* and *hearts*, as if they had forgotten the *Blessednesse*, *Blessed* are the mercifull, for they shall obtaine mercy, *Math. 5.* He that is sleightly and but a little hurt, shall be suffered, and meanes vouchsafed for his cure: But the deepe wounded sinners, and leproous, ulcerous, and those of bloody issues twelve yeares together, and those which have been bowed down 38. years of their life, they must not be suffered untill peradventure *God* may give them repentance; but either it is not lawfull for a godly *Magistrate* to rule and governe such a people (as some have said) or else if they be under government, and reforme not to the *State Religion* after the first and second admonition, the *Civill Magistrate* is bound to persecute, &c.

Truth. Such persons have need, as *Paul* to the *Romanes*, *Chap. 12. 1.* to be besought by the mercy of *God* to put on bowels of mercy toward such as have neither wronged them in body or goods, and therefore justly should not be punished in their goods or persons.

CHAP. XVII.

Peace. I Shall now trouble you (deare *Truth*) but with one conclusion more, which is this: viz. That if a man hold forth error with a boyse-

The Church and Civill State confusedly made all one.

Persecutors have forgotten the blessednesse promised to the mercifull, *Math. 5.*

a boisterous and arrogant spirit, to the disturbance of the civill Peace, he ought to be punished, &c.

Truth. To this I have spoken too, confessing that if any man commit ought of those things which *Paul* was accused of (*Act. 25. 11.*) he ought not to be spared, yea he ought not, as *Paul* saith, in such cases to refuse to dye.

What persons are guilty of breach of civil peace

But if the *matter* be of another *nature*, a spirituall and divine nature, I have written before in many cases, and might in many more, that the *Worship* which a State professeth may bee contradicted and preached against, and yet no breach of *Civill Peace*. And if a breach follow, it is not made by such *doctrines*, but by the boisterous and violent opposers of them.

The most peaceable wrongfully accused of peace-breaking.

Such persons onely breake the *Cities* or *Kingdomes* peace, who cry out for *prison* and *swords* against such who crosse their judgement or *prudence* in *Religion*. For as *Josephs* mistris accused *Joseph* of uncleannesse, and calls out for civill violence against him, when *Joseph* was chaste, and her selfe guilty: So commonly the meeke and peaceable of the earth are traduced as *rebells*, *factious*, *peace-breakers*, although they deale not with the *State* or *State-matters*, but *matters* of divine and spirituall nature, when their traducers are the onely unpeaceable, and guilty of breach of *Civill Peace*.

Peace. We are now come to the second part of the *Answer*, which is a particular examination of such grounds as are brought against such persecution.

The first sort of grounds are from the *Scriptures*.

CHAP. XVIII.

The examination of what is meant by the Tares, and the command of the L. Jesus to let them alone.

FIRST, *Matth. 13. 30, 38.* because *Christ* commandeth to let alone the *Tares* to grow up together with the *Wheat*, untill the *Harvest*.

Unto which he answereth: That *Tares* are not *Bryars* and *Thornes*, but partly *Hypocrites*, like unto the *goaly*, but indeed *carvall* (as the *Tares* are like to *Wheat*, but are not *Wheat*,) or partly such corrupt *doctrines* or *practices* as are indeed unsound, but yet such as come very near the truth (as *Tares* do to the *Wheat*, and so neer that *good* men may be taken with them, and so the persons in whom they grow cannot bee rooted out, but good *Wheat* will be rooted out with them. In such a case (saith he) *Christ* calleth for peaceable toleration, and not for penall prosecution, according to the third Conclusion.

Truth.

Truth. The substance of this Answer I conceive to be first negative, The Answerers fallacious exposition that Tares are not meant persons of another Religion and Worship, that is (saith he) they are not *Briars and Thornes*.

Secondly, affirmative, by Tares are meant either persons, or doctrines, or practices; persons, as hypocrites, like the godly: doctrines or practices corrupt, yet like the truth.

For answer hereunto I confesse that not onely those worthy witnesses (whose memories are sweet with all that feare God) Calvin, Beza, &c. but of later times many conjoyne with this worthy Answerer, to satisfie themselves and others with such an Interpretation.

But alas, how darke is the soule left that desires to walke with God in holy feare and trembling, when in such a waighty and mighty point as this is, that in matters of conscience concerneth the spilling of the bloud of thousands, and the Civill Peace of the World in the taking up Armes to suppress all false Religions: when I say no evidence or demonstration of the Spirit is brought to prove such an interpretation, nor Arguments from the place it selfe or the Scriptures of truth to confirme it; but a bare Affirmation that these Tares must signifie persons, or doctrines and practices.

I will not imagine any deceitfull purpose in the Answerers thoughts in the proposall of these three, persons, doctrines, or practices, yet dare I confidently avouch that the Old Serpent hath deceived their precious soules, and by Tongue and Pen would deceive the soules of others by such a method of dividing the word of truth. A threefold Cord, and so a threefold Snare is strong, and too like it is that one of the three, either Persons, Doctrines, or Practices may catch some feet.

CHAP. XIX.

Peace. **T**He place then being of such great importance as concerning the truth of God, the bloud of thousands, yea the bloud of Saints, and of the Lord Jesus in them, I shall request your more diligent search (by the Lords holy assistance) into this Scripture. I shall make it evident, that by these Tares in this Parable are meant persons in respect of their Religion and way of Worship, open and visible professors, as bad as briars and thornes; not onely suspected Foxes, but as bad as those greedy Wolves which Paul speaks of, Acts 20. who with perverse and evill doctrines labour spiritually to devour the flocke, and to draw away Disciples after them, whose mouthes must be stopped, and yet no carnall

force or weapon to be used against them, but their mischiefes to bee resisted with those mighty weapons of the holy Armoury of the Lord Iesus, wherein there hangs a thousand shields, Cant. 4.

That the Lord Iesus intendeth not doctrines or practices by the tares in this Parable is cleare: for

First, the Lord Iesus expressly interpreteth the good seed to be persons, and those the children of the Kingdome; and the tares also to signifie Men, and those the children of the Wicked one, ver. 38.

Toleration in Rom. 14. considered. Toleration of Jewish ceremonies for a time upon some grounds in the Jewish Church, proves not toleration of Popish and Antichristian Ceremonies in the Christian Church, although in the State.

Secondly, such corrupt doctrines or practices are not to bee tolerated now as those Jewish observations (the Lords owne Ordinances) were for a while to be permitted, Rom. 14. Not so long as till the Angels the Reapers come to reape the Harvest in the end of the world. For can we thinke that because the tender Consciences of the Jewes were to be tendered in their differences of meats, that therefore persons must now bee tolerated in the Church (for I speake not of the Civill State) and that to the worlds end, in superstitious forbearing and forbidding of flesh in Popish Lents, and superstitious Fridajes, &c. and that because they were to be tendered in their observation of Jewish Holidayes, that therefore untill the Harvest or Worlds end, persons must now be tolerated (I meane in the Church) in the observation of Popish Christmas, Easter, Whitson-tide, and other superstitious Popish Festivals?

I willingly acknowledge, that if the members of a Church of Christ shall upon some delusion of Satan kneele at the Lords Supper, keep Christmas, or any other Popish observation, great tenderneffe ought to bee used in winning his soule from the errour of his way: and yet I see not that persons so practising were fit to be received into the Churches of Christ now, as the Jewes weake in the Faith, (that is, in the Liberties of Christ) were to be received, Rom. 14. 1. And least of all (as before) that the toleration or permission of such ought to continue till Doomes day, or the end of the world, as this Parable urgeth the Toleration; Let them alone untill the Harvest.

CHAP. XX.

Tares proved not to signifie hypocrites

AGAINE, Hypocrites were not intended by the Lord Iesus in this famous Parable.

First, the Originall word *Ze'evim*; signifying all those Weeds which spring up with the Corne, as Cockle, Darnell, Tares, &c. seemes to imply such a kinde of people as commonly are knowne to be mani-

manifestly different from, and opposite to the true worshippers of God, Hence were the witnesses of Christ here called the children of the Kingdom; as these weeds, tares, cockle, darnell, Wickliff and others in H. &c. are commonly and presently knowne by every husbandman to differ from the wheat, and to be opposite, and contrary, and hurtfull unto it.

Now whereas it is pleaded that these tares are like the wheat, and so like that this *consmilitude* or likenesse is made the ground of this interpretation, viz. That tares must needs signifie hypocrites, or doctrines, or practices, who are like Gods children, Truth, &c.

I answer, first, The Parable holds forth no such thing, that the likenesse of the tares should deceive the servants to cause them to suppose for a time that they were good wheat, but that as soone as ever the tares appeared, ver. 26. the servants came to the householder about them, ver. 27. the Scripture holds forth no such time wherein they doubted or suspected what they were.

Peace. It may be said they did not appeare to be tares untill the corne was in the blade, and put forth its fruit.

Truth. I answer, * The one appeared as soone as the other, for so the word clearly carries it, that the seed of both having been sowne, when the wheat appeared and put forth its blade and fruit, the tares also were as early, and put forth themselves as appeared also.

Secondly, there is such a *dissimilitude* or *unlikenesse*, I say such a *dissimilitude*, that as soone as tares and wheat are sprung up to blade and fruit, every husbandman can tell which is wheat, and which are tares and cockle, &c.

Peace. It may be said true: So when the hypocrite is manifested, then all may know him, &c. but before hypocrites be manifested by fruits they are unknowne.

I answer, search into the Parable, and aske when was it that the servants first complained of the tares to the householder, but when they appeared or came in sight, there being no interim, wherein the servants could not tell what to make of them, but doubted whether they were wheat or tares, as the Answerer implies.

Secondly, when was it that the householder gave charge to let them alone, but after that they appeared, and were known to be tares, which should imply by this interpretation of the Answerer, that when men are discovered and knowne to be Hypocrites, yet still such a generation of Hypocrites in the Church must be let alone and tolerated untill the harvest or end of the world, which is contrary to all order, piety and safety in the Church of the Lord Jesus, as doubtlesse the Answerers will grant;

the witnesses of Christ Wickliff and others in H. 4. his reigne called Lollards (as some say) from Lolla, weeds known well enough, hence taken for signe of barrenness Infelix Lollard & steriles dominantes arenas: others conceive they were so called from one Lollard, &c. but all Papists accounted them as Tares because of their profession. * The false and counterfeite Christians appeare as soon as the true and faithfull.

Hypocritical Christians,

so that these Tares being notoriously knowne to be different from the Corne, I conclude that they cannot here be intended by the Lord Jesus to signifie secret *Hypocrites*, but more open and apparent Sinners.

The Tares cannot signifie Hypocrites.

Two sorts of Hypocrites: 1. In the Church as *Indas, Simons Magus*, and these must be tolerated untill discovered, and no longer. 2. Hypocrites in the world which are false Christians, false Churches, & these the Lord Jesus will have let alone unto Harvest.

The Field by most, generally, but falsely interpreted the Church.

The Lord Jesus the great teacher by Parables, and the only exounder of them.

The scope of the Parable.

CHAP. XXI.

THe second reason why these tares cannot signifie hypocrites in the Church, I take from the Lord Jesus His own Interpretation of the field (in which both wheat and tares are sowne, which saith he is the World, out of which God chooseth and calleth His Church.

The World lyes in wickednesse, is like a *Wildernesse* or a *Sea* of wilde Beasts innumerable, fornicators, covetous, Idolaters, &c. with whom Gods people may lawfully converse and cohabit in Cities, Townes, &c. else must they not live in the World, but goe out of it, In which world as soone as ever the Lord Jesus had sowne the good seed, the children of the Kingdome, true Christianity, or the true Church; the Enemy *Sathan* presently in the night of security, Ignorance and Error (whilest men slept) sowed also these tares which are *Antichristians* or false Christians. These strange Professours of the Name of Jesus, the Ministers and Prophets of God, beholding they are ready to runne to Heaven to fetch fiery judgements from thence to consume these strange Christians, and to pluck them by the roots out of the world: But the Son of Man, the meek Lamb of God (for the Elect sake which must be gathered out of Jew and Gentile, Pagan, Antichristian) commands a permission of them in the World, untill the time of the end of the World, when the Goats and Sheep, the Tares and Wheat shall be eternally separated each from other.

Peace. You know some excellent *Worthies* (dead and living) have laboured to turne this Field of the World into the Garden of the Church.

Truth. But who can imagine that the *Wisdom* of the Father, the Lord Jesus Christ, would so open this *Parable* (as He professedly doth) as that it should be close shut up, and that one difficulty or locke should be opened by a greater and harder, in calling the World the Church? contrary also to the way of the Light and Love that is in Jesus, when he would purposely teach and instruct His scholars contrary to the nature of Parables and similitudes.

And lastly, to the nature of the Church or Garden of Christ.

CHAP. XXII.

IN the former Parable the Lord Jesus compared the Kingdome of Heaven to the sowing of Seed. The true Messengers of Christ are the Sowers,

Sowers, who cast the *Seed* of the *Word* of the *Kingdome* upon foure *sorts* of ground, which foure *sorts* of ground or hearts of men, cannot be supposed to be of the *Church*, nor will it ever be proved that the *Church* consisteth of any more sorts or natures of ground properly, but one, to wit, the *honest* and *good* ground, and the proper worke of the *Church* concerns the flourishing and prosperity of this sort of ground, and not the other *unconverted* three sorts, who it may be seldome or never come heare the *Church* unlessse they be forced by the *Civill sword*, which the *aterne* or first *sowers* never used, and being forced they are put into a way of *Religion* by such a course, if not so, they are forced to live without a *Religion*, for one of the two must necessarily follow, as I shall prove afterward.

In the field of the *World* then are all those *sorts* of ground, *high way* hearers, *stony* and *thorny* ground hearers, as well as the *honest* and *good* ground; and I suppose it will not now be said by the Answerer, that those three sorts of bad grounds were *hypocrites* or *tares* in the *Church*.

Now after the Lord *Jesus* had propounded that great *leading Parable* of the *Sower* and the *Seed*, He is pleased to propound this *Parable* of the *Tares*, with admirable coherence and sweet consolation to the honest and good ground, who with glad and honest hearts having received the word of the *Kingdome*, may yet seem to be discouraged and troubled with so many *Antichristians* and false *Professours* of the Name of *Christ*. The Lord *Jesus* therefore gives direction concerning these *tares*, that unto the end of the *World* successively in all the *sorts* and *generations* of them they must be (not approved or countenanced, but) let alone or permitted in the *World*.

Secondly, he gives to His owne good seed this consolation, that those heavenly *Reapers* the *Angells* in the *harvest* or end of the *World*, will make an order and course with them, to wit, they shall binde them in bundles, and cast them into the everlasting burnings, and to make the cup of their consolation run over: He addes vers. 4. Then, then at that time shall the *Righteous* shine as the *Sun* in the *Kingdome* of their Father.

These *tares* then neither being erroneous doctrines, nor corrupt practices, nor *hypocrites* in the true *Church* intended by the Lord *Jesus* in this *Parable*; I shall in the third place (by the helpe of the same Lord *Jesus*) evidently prove that these *tares* can be no other sort of sinners, but false professors, idolaters, and in particular properly, *Antichristians*.

Four sorts of ground or hearers of the word in the world and but one properly in the Church, the rest seldome come or accidentally to hear the word in the Church, which word ought to be fitted for the feeding of the Church or flock; preaching for conversion is properly out of the Church.

The scope of the Parable of the Tares.

The Lord Jesus in this Parable of the Tares gives direction and consolation to His servants.

The Tares proved properly to signify Anti-christians.

CHAP. XXIII.

First then, these Tares are such sinners as are opposite and contrary to the children of the Kingdome visibly so declared and manifest. ver. 38. Now the Kingdome of God below, is the visible Church of Christ Jesus, according to *Matth. 8. 12*. The children of the Kingdome which are threatned to be cast out, seeme to be the *Jewes*, which were then the onely visible Church in Covenant with the Lord, when all other Nations followed other gods and worships. And more plaine is that fearefull threatning; *Matth. 21. 43*. The Kingdome of God shall be taken from you, and given to a Nation that will bring forth the fruit thereof.

Math. 8. 12
Mat. 21. 43
Gods king
dome on
Earth the
visible
Church.

Such then are the good seed, good wheat, children of the Kingdome, as are the disciples, members and subjects of the Lord Jesus Christ his Church & Kingdom: and therefore consequently such are the tares, as are opposite to these, *Idolaters, Will-worshippers*, not truly but falsely submitting to Jesus: and in especiall, the children of the wicked one, visibly so appearing. Which wicked one I take not to be the Devill; for the Lord Jesus seemes to make them distinct: He that sowes the good seed (saith he) is the Son of man, the field is the world, the good seed are the children of the Kingdome, but the Tares are the children of the wicked, or wickednesse, the enemy that sowed them, is the Devill.

The difference between the Wheat & the Tares, as also between these Tares and all other.

The Originall here, *ἡ ἀγαθή σπορά*, agrees with that, *Luk. 11. 4*. Deliver us *ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*, from evill or wickednesse; opposite to the children of the Kingdome and the righteousnesse thereof.

CHAP. XXIV.

Peace. It is true, that all drunkards, thieves, uncleane persons, &c. are opposite to Gods children.

Truth. Answ. Their opposition here against the children of the Kingdome, is such an opposition as properly fights against the Religious State or Worship of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Secondly, it is manifest, that the Lord Jesus in this parable intends no other sort of sinners, unto whom he saith, Let them alone, in Church or State; for then he should contradict other holy and blessed ordinances for the punishment of offenders both in Christian and Civill State.

First, in Civill state, from the beginning of the world, God hath armed

med

ed *Fathers, Masters, Magistrates*, to punish evill doers, that is, such whose actions *Fathers, Masters, Magistrates* are to judge, and accordingly to punish such sinners as transgresse against the good and peace of their *Civill state, Families, Townes, Cities, Kingdomes*: their *States, governments, Governours, Lawes, Punishments and Weapons* being all of *Civill nature*; and therefore neither disobedience to parents or *magistrates*, nor murder nor quarrelling, uncleannesse nor lasciviousnesse, stealing nor extortion, neither ought of that kinde ought to be let alone, either in lesser or greater families, townes, cities, kingdomes, Rom. 13. but reasonably to be suppressed, as may best conduce to the *publike safety*.

Againe secondly, in the *Kingdome of Christ Iesus*, whose *kingdome, officers, lawes, punishments, weapons*, are spirituall and of a Soule-nature, we will not have *Antichristian idolaters, extortioners, covetous, &c.* to be let alone, but the *uncleane and lepers* to be thrust forth, the old *leaven* purged out, the *obstinate in sinne* spiritually stoned to death, and put away from Israel; and this by many degrees of gentle admonition in private and *publique*, as the case requires.

Therefore if neither offenders against the *civill Lawes, State and peace* ought to be let alone; nor the *Spirituell estate, the Church of Iesus Christ* ought to beare with them that are *evill*, Revel. 2. I conclude, that these are sinners of another nature, *Idolaters, False-worshippers, Antichristians*, who without discouragement to true Christians must be let alone and permitted in the world to grow and fill up the measure of their sinnes, after the *image* of him that hath sown them, untill the great Harvest shall make the difference.

CHAP. XXV.

Thirdly, in that the *officers* unto whom these *Tares* are referred, are the *Angels* the heavenly *Reapers* at the last day, it is cleare as the light, that (as before) these *Tares* cannot signifie *Hypocrites* in the Church, who when they are discovered and seen to be *Tares* opposite to the good fruit of the good seed, are not to be let alone to the *Angels* at Harvest or end of the world, but purged out by the *Governors* of the Church, and the whole Church of Christ. Againe, they cannot be offenders against the *civill state and Common welfare*, whose dealing with is not suspended unto the coming of the *Angels*, but unto Men, who

Civill Magistracie from the beginning of the World.

Offenders against the Civill lawes not to be perpetually tolerated.

Nor offenders in the Church of Christ Iesus to be suffered.

The great Reapers are the Angels.

who (although they know not the Lord *Iesus Christ*, yet) are lawfull *Governours* and *Rulers* in *Civill things*.

Accordingly in the 4. and last place, in that the plucking up of these *tares* out of this *field* must bee let alone unto the very *harvest* or end of the *world*, it is apparent from thence, that (as before) they could not signifie *hypocrites* in the *Church*, who when they are discovered to be so, (as these *tares* were discovered to be *tares*) are not to be suffered (after the first and second Admonition) but to be rejected, and every Brother that walketh disorderly to be withdrawen or separated from: So likewise no offendour against the *Civill state*, by *robbery*, *murther*, *adultery*, *oppression*, *sedition*, *mutinie*, is for ever to be connived at, and to enjoy a perpetuall toleration unto the *Worlds end*, as these *tares* must.

The Tares
to be tole-
rated the
longest of
any sin-
ners.

Moses for a while held his peace against the *sedition* of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. *David* for a season tolerated *Shimei*, *Joab*, *Adonijah*; but till the *Harvest* or end of the *World*, the *Lord* never intended that any but these *spirituall* and *mysticall Tares* should be so permitted.

CHAP. XXVI.

The dan-
ger of in-
fection by
these tares
affoyled.
Lamenta-
ble expe-
rience
hath pro-
ved this
true of
late in Eu-
rope, and
lamenta-
bly true in
the slaugh-
ter of
some hun-
dred thou-
sands of
the Eng-
lish.

NOW if any imagine that the time or date is long, that in the meane season they may doe a *world* of *mischiefe* before the *Worlds end*, as by infection, &c.

Truth. First, I answer, that as the *civill State* keeps it selfe with a *civill Guard*, in case these *Tares* shall attempt ought against the *peace* and *welfare* of it, let such *civill offences* be punished, and yet as *Tares* opposite to *Christs Kingdome*, let their *Worship* and *Consciences* be tolerated.

Secondly, the *Church* or *spirituall State*, *City*, or *Kingdome* hath *lawes*, and *orders*, and *armories*, (whereon there hang a thousand *Bucklers*, *Cant. 4.*) *Weapons* and *Ammunition*, able to break down the strongest *Holds*, *1 Cor. 10.* and so to defend it selfe against the very *Gates of Earth* or *Hell*.

Thirdly, the *Lord* himself knows who are his, & his *foundation* remaineth sure, his *Elect* or chosen cannot perish nor be finally deceived.

Lastly, the *Lord Iesus* here in this Parable layes downe two *Reasons*, able to content and satishe our *hearts*, to beare patiently this their *contradiction* and *Antichristianity*, and to permit or let them alone.

First, lest the good *Wheat* bee pluckt up and rooted up also out of this *Field* of the *World*, if such *combustions* and *fightings* were, as to pluck up all the false professors of the name of *Christ*, the good *Wheat* also would

would enjoy little peace; but be in danger to bee pluckt up and torne out of this world by such bloody stormes and tempests.

And therefore as Gods people are commanded, *Ier. 29.* to pray for the peace of *materiall Babel*, wherein they were captivated, and *1 Tim. 2.* to pray for all men, and specially *Kings and Governors*, that in the peace of the *civill State* they may have peace. So contrary to the opinion and practice of most (drunke with the Cup of the *Whores fornication*) yea, and of Gods owne people fast asleepe in *Antichristian Dalilabs* laps, obedience to the command of *Christ* to let the tares alone, will prove the onely meanes to preserve their *Civill Peace*, and that without obedience to this command of *Christ*, it is impossible (without great transgression against the *Lord* in carnall policy, which will not long hold out) to preserve the *civill peace*.

Beside, Gods people the good Wheat are generally pluckt up and persecuted, as well as the vilest idolaters, whether Jewes or Antichristians, which the *Lord Jesus* seemes in this *Parable* to foretell.

The second Reason noted in the *Parable* which may satisfie any man from wondring at the patience of God, is this: when the world is ripe in sinne, in the sinnes of *Antichristianisme* (as the *Lord* spake of the sinnes of the *Amorites*, *Gen. 12.*) then those holy and mighty Officers and Executioners, the *Angels*, with their sharpe and cutting sickles of eternall vengeance, shall downe with them, and bundle them up for the everlasting burnings.

The great
& dread-
full Har-
vest.

Then shall that Man of Sin, *2 Thess. 2.* be consumed by the breath of the mouth of the *Lord Jesus*, and all that worship the *Beast* and his picture, and receive his mark into their forehead or their hands, shall drink of the Wine of the wrath of God which is poured out without mixture into the Cup of his indignation, and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy *Angels*, and in the presence of the *Lambe*, and the smoke of their torment shall ascend up for ever and ever, *Rev. 14. 10. 11.*

CHAP. XXVII.

Pearce. **Y**OU have beene larger in vindicating this Scripture from the violence offered unto it, because as I said before, it is of such great consequence, as also because so many excellent hands have not rightly valued it, to the great misguiding of many precious feet, which

otherwise might have been turned into the paths of more peaceableness in themselves and towards others.

The charge of Christ Jesus, Let alone the Tares, was not spoken to Magistrates, Ministers of the civill state, but to Ministers of the Gospel.

The civill Magistrate not so particularly spoken to as Fathers and Masters in the New Testament, and why. Eph. 5. 6. Col. 3. 4. &c.

A twofold state of Christianity, the persecuted under the Roman Emperors, and the Apostate ever since.

Truth. I shall be briefer in the *Scriptures* following. *Peace.* Yet before you depart from this, I must crave your patience to satisfie one *Objection*, and that is; These servants to whom the *Householder* answereth, seem to be the *Ministers* or *Messengers* of the *Gospel*, not the *Magistrates* of the *civill State*, and therefore this charge of the Lord Jesus is not given to *Magistrates* to let alone *false worshippers* and *idolaters*.

Againe, being spoken by the Lord Jesus to his *Messengers*, it seemes to concern *Hypocrites* in the *Church*, as before was spoken, and not *false worshippers* in the *State* or *World*.

Truth. I answer, first, I belevee I have sufficiently and abundantly proved, that these tares are not offenders in the *civill State*. Nor secondly, *Hypocrites* in the *Church*, when once discovered so to bee, and that therefore the Lord Jesus intends a grosser kinde of *Hypocrites*, professing the name of *Churches* and *Christians* in the field of the *world* or *Commonwealth*.

Secondly, I acknowledge this command [Let them alone] was expressly spoken to the *Messengers* or *Ministers* of the *Gospel*, who have no *civill power* or *authority* in their hand, and therefore not to the *civill Magistrate*, *King*, or *Governour*, to whom it pleased not the Lord Jesus by himselfe or by his *Apostles* to give particular *Rules* or *directions* concerning their *behaviour* and carriage in *Civill Magistracy*, as they have done expressly concerning the duty of *fathers*, *mothers*, *children*, *masters*, *servants*, yea and of *Subjects* towards *Magistrates*, Ephes. 5. & 6. Colos. 3. & 4. &c.

I conceive not the reason of this to be (as some weakly have done) because the Lord Jesus would not have any *followers* of his to hold the place of *civill Magistracy*, but rather that he foresaw, and the *Holy Spirit* in the *Apostles* foresaw how few *Magistrates*, either in the first persecuted, or apostate state of Christianity would embrace his yoke: in the persecuted state, *Magistrates* hated the very name of Christ or Christianity: In the state apostate some few *Magistrates* (in their persons holy and precious, yet) as concerning their places, as they have professed to have beene *Governours* or *Heads* of the *Church*, have beene so many *false Heads*, and have constituted so many *false visible Christs*.

Thirdly, I conceive this charge of the Lord Jesus to his *Messengers* the *Preachers* and *Proclaimers* of his minde, is a sufficient declaration of

of the minde of the *Lord Iesus*, if any *civill Magistrate* should make question what were his duty concerning *spirituall things*.

The *Apostles*, and in them all that succeed them; being commanded not to pluck up the *Tares*, but let them alone, received from the *Lord Iesus* a threefold charge.

First, to let them alone, and not to plucke them up by prayer to God for their present temporall *destruction*.

Jeremie had a Commission to plant and build, to pluck up and destroy *Kingdomes*, *Ier. 1. 10.* therefore hee is commanded not to pray for that people whom God had a purpose to pluck up, *Ier. 14. 11.* and he plucks up the whole Nation by prayer, *Lament. 3. 66.* Thus *Elijah* brought fire from heaven to consume the *Captaines* and the *fifties*, *2 King. 1.* and the *Apostles* desired also so to practise against the *Samaritanes*, *Luc. 9. 54.* but were reprov'd by the *Lord Iesus*. For contrarily, the *Saints* and *Servants* and *Churches of Christ* are to pray for all men, especially for all *Magistrates* (of what sort or *Religions* soever) and to seeke the peace of the City (whatsoever City it be) because in the peace of the place Gods people have peace also, *Ier. 29. 7. 2 Tim. 2. 20.*

Secondly, Gods *Messengers* are herein commanded not to prophesie or denounce a present *destruction* or *extirpation* of all false professors of the name of *Christ*, which are whole *Townes*, *Cities*, and *Kingdomes* full.

Jeremy did thus pluck up *Kingdomes* in those fearfull Prophecies hee poured forth against all the *Nations* of the *World*, throughout his *Chap. 24. 25. 26. &c.* as did also the other Prophets in a measure, though none comparably to *Ieremy* and *Ezekiel*.

Such denunciations of present temporall judgements are not the *Messengers* of the *Lord Iesus* to poure forth. Tis true, many sore and fearfull plagues are poured forth upon the *Romane Emperours* and *Romane Popes* in the *Revelation*, yet not to their utter *extirpation* or *plucking up* untill the *Harvest*.

Thirdly, I conceive Gods *Messengers* are charged to let them alone and not pluck them up, by exciting and stirring up *Civill Magistrates*, *Kings*, *Emperours*, *Governours*, *Parliaments*, or *Generall Courts* or *Assemblies*, to punish and persecute all such persons out of their *Dominions* and *Territories*, as worship not the true God according to the revealed will of God in *Christ Iesus*. Tis true, *Elijah* thus stirred up *Ahab* to kill all the *Priests* and *Prophets* of *Baal*, but that was in that figurative state of the Land of *Canaan* (as I have already and shall further

Christs Messengers receive a threefold charge in that prohibition of *Christ*. Let them alone.

Gods people not to pray for the present ruine and destruction of idoliters, although their persecutors, but for their peace and salvations.

The word of God rightly denounced plucks up kingdoms.

Gods Ministers are not to provoke *Magistrates* to persecute *Antichristians*.

manifest) not to be matcht or paralleld by any other *State*, but the *spirituall State* or *Church* of Christ in all the world, putting the false *Prophets* and *Idolaters* spiritually to death by the two-edged sword and power of the *Lord Iesus*, as that *Church of Israel* did corporally.

And therefore saith *Paul* expresly, 1 *Cor.* 5. 10. we must goe out of the world, in case we may not company in civill converse with Idolaters, &c.

Peace. It may be said, some sorts of sinners are there mentioned, as Drunkards, Raylers, Extortioners, who are to bee punished by the Civill Sword, why not Idolaters also? for although the Subject may lawfully converse, buy and sell, and live with such, yet the *Civill Magistrate* shall neverthelesse be justly blamed in suffering of them.

Truth. I answer, the Apostle in this Scripture speaks not of permission of either, but expresly shewes the difference betweene the *Church* and the *World*, and the lawfulness of conversation with such persons in *civill things*, with whom it is not lawfull to have converse in *spirituall*: secretly withall foretelling, that Magistrates and People, whole States and Kingdomes should bee Idolatrous and Antichristian, yet with whom notwithstanding the Saints and Churches of God might lawfully cohabit, and hold *civill converse and conversation*.

Concerning their permission of what they judge Idolatrous, I have and shall speake at large.

Peace. Oh how contrary unto this command of the *Lord Iesus* have such as have conceived themselves the true Messengers of the *Lord Iesus*, in all ages, not let such Professours and Prophets alone, whom they have judged *Tares*, but have provoked Kings and Kingdomes (and some out of good intentions and zeale to God) to persecute and persecute such even unto death? Amongst whom Gods people: (the good wheat) hath also beene pluckt up, as all Ages and Histories testifie; and too too oft the World laid upon bloody heapes in *civill and intestine dissolutions* on this occasion. All which would bee prevented, and the greatest breaches made up in the peace of our owne or other Countries, were this command of the *Lord Iesus* obeyed, to wit, to let them alone untill the Harvest.

CHAP. XXVIII.

I Shall conclude this controversie about this *Parable* in this brieve *sum* and *recapitulation* of what hath beene said. I hope by the evident demonstration

monstration of Gods Spirit to the conscience I have proved, Negatively,

First, that the *Tares* in this *Parable* cannot signifie *Dollrines* or *Practices* (as was affirmed) but *Persons*.

Secondly, the *Tares* cannot signifie Hypocrites in the Church either undiscovered or discovered.

Thirdly, the *Tares* here cannot signifie *Scandalous Offenders* in the Church.

Fourthly, nor scandalous offenders in *life* and *conversation* against the *Civill state*.

Fifthly, The field in which these *Tares* are sowne, is not the Church.

Again affirmatively: First, the *Field* is properly the *World*, the *Civill State* or *Common-wealth*.

Secondly, The *Tares* here intended by the Lord *Iesus*, are *Antichristian idolaters*, opposite to the good seed of the *Kingdome*, true *Christians*.

Thirdly, the *ministers* or *messengers* of the Lord *Iesus* ought to let them alone to live in the world, and neither seeke by *prayer* or *prophesie* to

pluck them up before the *Harvest*.

Fourthly, this permission or suffering of them in the field of the *World*, is not for hurt, but for common good, even for the good of the good *Wheat*, the people of *God*.

Lastly, the *patience* of *God* is, and the *patience* of *Men* ought to be exercised toward them, and yet notwithstanding their *doome* is fearfull

at the *harvest*, even *gathering*, *bundling*, and *everlasting burnings* by the mighty hand of the *Angels* in the end of the *World*.

CHAP. XXIX.

Peace. **T**He second Scripture brought against such persecution for cause of *Conscience*, is *Matth. 15. 14.* where the *Disciples* being troubled at the *Pharises* cariage toward the Lord *Iesus* and his *doctrines*, and relating how they were offended at him, the Lord *Iesus* commandeth his *Disciples* to let them alone, and gives this reason, that the *blinde* lead the *blinde*, and both should fall into the ditch.

Unto which, Answer is made, "That it makes nothing to the Cause, because it was spoken to his private *Disciples*, and not to publike Officers in *Church* or *State*: and also, because

“because it was spoken in regard of not troubling themselves, or regarding the offence which the *Pharises* tooke.

Truth. I answer, (to passe by his assertion of the *privacie* of the *Apostles*) in that the Lord *Iesus* commanding to let them alone, that is, not onely not be offended themselves, but not to meddle with them; it appears it was no ordinance of God nor *Christ* for the *Disciples* to have gone further, and have complained to, and excited the *Civill Magistrate* to his duty: which if it had been an Ordinance of God and *Christ*, either for the vindicating of *Christs doctrine*, or the recovering of the *Pharises*, or the preserving of others from infection, the Lord *Iesus* would never have commanded them to omit that which should have tended to these holy ends.

Christ *Iesus* never directed his *Disciples* to the *civill Magistrate* for help in his cause.

CHAP. XXX.

Peace. IT may be said, that neither the *Romane Caesar*, nor *Herod*, nor *Pilate* knew ought of the true God, or of *Christ*; and it had been in vaine to have made complaint to them who were not fit and competent, but ignorant and opposite Judges.

Truth. I answer first, this removes (by the way) that stumbling block which many fall at, to wit, *Pauls* appealing to *Caesar*; which since he could not in common sense doe unto *Caesar* as a competent Judge in such cases, and wherein he should have also denied his own *Apostleship* or office, in which regard (to wit in matters of *Christ*) he was higher then *Caesar* himselfe: it must needs follow, that his appeal was meerly in respect of his *Civill wrongs*, and false accusations of sedition, &c.

Secondly, if it had been an Ordinance of God, that all *Civill Magistrates* were bound to judge in causes *spirituall* or *Christian*, as to suppress *heresies*, defend the faith of *Iesus*; although that *Caesar*, *Herod*, *Pilate* were wicked, ignorant and opposite, yet the *Disciples* and the Lord *Christ* himselfe had been bound to have performed the duty of faithfull Subjects, for the preventing of further evill, and the clearing of themselves, and so to have left the matter upon the *Magistrates* care and conscience, by complaining unto the *Magistrate* against such evils; for every person is bound to goe so far as lies in his power for the preventing and the redressing of evill; and where it stops in any, and runs not cleere, there the guilt, like filth or mud, will lie.

Thirdly, had it been the holy purpose of God to have established the doctrine

Pauls appealing to *Caesar*. *Civill Magistrates* never appointed by God, Defenders of the Faith of *Iesus*. Every one is bound to put forth himselfe to his utmost power in Gods businesse; & where it stops, the guilt will lie.

doctrine and kingdom of his Son this way: since his coming, he would have furnished Common-weales, Kingdomes, Cities, &c. then and since, with such temporall Powers and Magistrates as should have been excellently fit and competent: for he that could have had legions of Angels, if he so pleased, could as easily have been, and still be furnished with legions of good and gracious Magistrates to this end and purpose.

(Christ could have easily been furnished with godly Magistrates, if he had so appointed.)

CHAP. XXXI.

It is generally said, that God hath in former times, and doth still, and will hereafter stirre up Kings and Queenes, &c.

I answer, that place of *Isa. 49. 23.* will appeare to be far from proving such Kings and Queenes Iudges of Ecclesiasticall causes: and if not Iudges, they may not punish.

In Spirituall things, themselves are subject to the Church, and censures of it, although in Civill respects superior. How shall those Kings and Queenes be supreme Governours of the Church, and yet lick the dust of the Churches feet? as it is there exprest.

Thirdly, Gods Israel of old were earnest with God for a King, for an Arme of Flesh, for a King to protect them, as other Nations had.

Gods Israel still have ever been restlesse with God for an Arme of flesh. God gave them *Saul* in his anger, and took him away in his wrath: And God hath given many a *Saul* in his Anger, that is, an Arme of Flesh in the way of his Providence, (though I judge not all persons whom *Saul* in his Calling typed out, to be of *Sauls* spirit) for I speake of a State and outward visible Power only.

I adde, God will take away such stayes on whom Gods people rest, in his wrath, that King *David*, that is, *Christ Iesus* the Antitype, in his own Spirituall power in the hands of the Saints, may Spirituallly and for ever be advanced.

And therefore I conclude, it was in one respect that the Lord *Iesus* said, Let them alone, because it was no Ordinance for any Disciple of *Iesus* to persecute the Pharises at *Casars* Bar.

Beside, let it be seriously considered by such as plead for present corporall punishment, as conceiving that such sinners (though they breake nor Civill peace) should not escape unpunished, I say, let it be considered, though for the present their punishment is deferred, yet the punishment inflicted on them will be found to amount to an higher pitch then

Gods Israel earnest with God for an Arme of Flesh, which God gives in his anger, and takes away in his wrath. The punishment of blind Pharises, though less alone, yet is greater then any corporall punishment in the world, in 4 respects.

then any *corporall punishment* in the *World* beside, and that in these four respects.

CHAP. XXXII.

First by just judgement from God, *false teachers* are *starke blinde*, Gods *sword* hath stricke out the *right eye* of their *minde* and *spirituall understanding*, ten thousand times a greater punishment then if the *Magistrate* should command both the *right* and *left eye* of their *bodies* to be bored or plucked out, and that in so many fearfull respects if the blindness of the *soule* and of the *body* were a little compared together, whether we looke at that want of *guidance*, or the want of *joy* and *pleasure*, which the light of the eye affordeth; or whether we looke at the *damage*, *shame*, *deformity*, and *danger*, which *blindnesse* brings to the outward man, and much more true in the want of the former, and *miserie* of the latter in *spirituall* and *soule* blindness to all *eternity*.

Secondly, how fearfull is that wound that no *Balme* in *Gilead* can cure? How dreadfull is that blindness which for ever to all eye-salve is incurable? For if persons be wilfully and desperately obdurate (after light shining forth) let them alone saith the *Lord*. So spake the *Lord* once of *Ephraim*, *Ephraim* is joyned to *idolls*, let him alone, *Hos. 7.* what more lamentable condition then when the *Lord* hath given a poor sinner over as a hopelesse *patient*, incurable, which we are wont to account a sorer affliction, then if a man were torne and rack'd, &c.

Some
soules in-
curable,
whom not
only cor-
porall but
spirituall
physicke
can no-
thing
availe.

And this I speake not that I conceive that all whom the *Lord Iesus* commands His servants to passe from, and let alone, to permit and tolerate (when it is in their power corporally to molest them) I say that all are thus incurable, yet that sometimes that word is spoken by Christ *Iesus* to His servants to be patient, for neither can corporall or spirituall *Balme* or *Physicke* ever heale or cure them.

Thirdly, their end is the *Ditch*, that bottomlesse pit of everlasting separation from the holy and sweet Presence of the *Father* of *Lights*, *Goodnesse* and *Mercy* it selfe, *endlesse*, *easelesse*, in *extremity*, *universality*, and *eternity* of torments, which most direfull and lamentable downefall, should strike an holy fear & trembling into all that see the *Pit*, whether these blinde *Pharises* are tumbling, and cause us to strive (so far as hope may be) by the spirituall eye-salve of the Word of *God* to heale and cure them of this their soule-destroying blindness.

The bot-
tomlesse
pit orditch
into which
the stri-
tuall
blind fall.

Fourthly, of those that fall into this dreadfull *Ditch*, both leader and followers, how deplorable in more especiall manner is the leaders case,

upon

upon whose necke the *followers* tumble, the ruine not only of his owne soule, being horrible, but also the ruine of the followers soules eternally galling and tormenting.

Peace. Some will say these things are indeed full of horreur, yet such is the state of all sinners and of many Malefactours, whom yet the State is bound to punish, and sometimes by *death* it selfe.

Truth. I answer, The Civill Magistrate beareth not the sword in vaine, but to cut off *Civill offences*, yea and the offendours too in case: But what is this to a blinde *Pharisee*, resisting the *Doctrine of Christ*, who happily may be as good a subject, and as peaceable and profitable to the *Civill State* as any, and for his spirituall offence against the *Lord Jesus*, in denying Him to be the true *Christ*, he suffereth the vengeance of a *dreadfull judgement* both present and eternall, as before.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Peace. Yea but it is said that the blinde *Pharises* misguiding the subjects of a *Civill State*, greatly sinne against a *Civill State*, and therefore justly suffer *civill punishment*; for shall the *Civill Magistrate* take care of *outsides* only, to wit, of the bodies of men, and not of soules, in labouring to procure their everlasting welfare?

Truth. I answer, It is a *truth*, the mischief of a blinde *Pharisee* blinde guidance is greater then if he acted Treasons, Murders, &c. and the losse of one soule by his seduction is a greater mischief then if he blew up Parliaments, and cuts the throats of Kings or Emperours, so pretious is that invaluable Jewell of a Soul, above all the present lives and bodies of all the men in the world: and therefore a firme Justice calling for *eye for eye, tooth for tooth, life for life*; calls also *soule for soule*, which the blinde-guiding seducing *Pharisee* shall surely pay in that dreadfull Ditch, which the Lord *Jesus* speakes of, but this sentence against him the Lord *Jesus* only pronounceth in His *Church*, His *spirituall judicature*, and executes this sentence in part at present and hereafter to all eternity: Such a sentence no *Civill Judge* can passe, such a *Death* no *Civill sword* can inflict.

I answer secondly, *Dead men* cannot be infected, the *civill state*, the world, being in a naturall state dead in sin (what ever be the *State-Religion* unto which persons are forced) it is impossible it should be infected: Indeed the *living*, the *beleeving*, the *Church* and *spirituall state*, that and that onely is capable of infection; for whose helpe we shall presently

Soul killing the chiefest murder. No Magistrate can execute true justice in killing soule for soule, but Christ *Jesus* who by typical death in the Law, typed out spirituall in the Gospel. A great mist he is most to conceive that dead men, that is, soules dead in sin may be infected by false doctrine.

See what *preservatives*, and *remedies* the Lord *Jesus* hath appointed.

All natu-
rall men
being dead
in sin, yet
none die
everlast-
ingly but
such as are
thereunto
ordained.

Moreover as we see in a common plague or infection the names are taken how many are to dye, and not one more shall be stricken, then the destroying *Angel* hath the names of. So here, what ever be the leule infection breathed out from the lying lips of a plague-sicke *Pharisee*, yet the names are taken; not one elect or chosen of *God* shall perishe. Gods sheep are safe in His eternall hand and counsell, and he that knowes his materiall, knows also his mysticall fears, their numbers and calls them every one by names, none fall into the Ditch on the blinde *Pharises* Backe; but such as were ordained to that condemnation, both *guid* and followers, 1 *Pet.* 2. 8. Jude 4. The vessels of wrath be broken and shitt, and only they to the praise of Gods eternall justice, *Rom.* 9.

CHAP. XXXIV.

PeaCe. **B**UT it is said, be it granted that in a common plague or infection none are smitten and dye but such as are appointed, yet it is not only every mans duty, but the common duty of the Magistrate to prevent infection, and to preserve the common health of the place; likewise though the number of the Elect be litle, and *God* knowes who are His, yet hath He appointed means for their preservation from perdition, and from infection, and therefore the *Angel* is charged to instruct the *Balaams* doctrine; and *Jesabel* to seduce *Christ Jesus* His servants, *Rev.* 2. *Ti.* 3. 10. *Rom.* 16. 17.

The Lord
Jesus hath
not left this
Church
without
spirituall
antidotes
and reme-
dies a-
gainst in-
fection.

Trueth. **T**ranswer, Let that Scripture and that of *Titus* reject an Hereticks; and *Rom.* 16. 17. avoid them that are contentious &c. let them, and all of like nature be examined, and it will appeare that the great and good *Physitian Christ Jesus*, the Head of the Body, and King of the Church, hath not been unfaithfull in providing spirituall antidotes and preservatives against the spirituall sicknesses, sores, weaknesse, dangers of his Church and people; but he never appointed the civill sword for either antidote or remedy, as an addition to those spirituall, which he hath left with his wife, his Church or People.

The mis-
erable bon-
dage Gods
people live
in.

Hence how great is the bondage, the captivity of Gods owne People to *Babylonish* or confused mixtures in Worship, and unto worldly and earthly policies to uphold State Religions or Worships, since that which is written to the *Angel* and Church at *Pergannus*, shall be interpreted as sent to the Governour and City of *Pergannus*, and that which is sent to *Titus*, and the Church of *Christ* at *Crees* must be delivered to the civill officers and City thereof.

But

But as the *Civill Magistrate* hath his charge of the *bodies* and *goods* of the *people*; so have the *spirituall Officers*, *Governours* and *shepherds* of *Christ's City* or *Kingdome*, the charge of their *soules*; and *safer* to see that charge of *Paul* to *Tim.* 1. *Tim.* 5. 20. That since *reinke* before all, that others may learne to *fear*. This is in the *Church* of *Christ* a *spirituall* meanes for the *healing* of a *soule* that hath *inured*; or taken *infection*, and for the *preventing* of the *infecting* of others; that others may learne to *fear*; &c.

CHAP. XXXV.

Peace. It is said true that *Tim.* and *Timothy*, and so the *Officers* of the *Church* of *Christ* are bound to prevent *soule infection*. But what hinders that the *Magistrate* should not be charged also with this duty?

Truth. I have answered many things I have answered, and more shall; at present I shall only say this. If it be the *Magistrate's* duty or office, then is he both a *Temporall* and *Ecclesiasticall* officer; contrary to which most men will assent: and yet we know the *politic* of our owne Land and Country hath established to the *Kings* and *Queens* thereof, the *supreme heads* of *governours* of the *Church* of *England*.

That *doctrine* and *distinction* that a *Magistrate* may punish an *Heretick* civilly will not here avale; for what is *Babel* if this be not confusedly to punish *corporall* or *civill offences* with *spirituall* or *Church censures* (the offendour not being a member of it) or to punish *soule* or *spirituall offences* with *corporall* or *temporall weapons* proper to *Delinquents* against the *temporall* or *civill state*.

Lastly, woe were it with the *civill Magistrate* (and most intolerable burthens do they lay upon their backs that teach this *doctrine*) if together with the common care and charge of the *Commonwealth* (the peace and safety of the *Towne*, *City*, *State* or *Kingdome*) the bloud of every soule that perisheth should cry against him, unless he could say with *Paul*, *Acts* 20. (in *spirituall* regards) I am clear from the *bloud* of all men, that is the bloud of *soules*, which was his charge to looke after, so far as his *preaching* went, not the bloud of *bodies* which belongeth to the *civill Magistrate*.

I acknowledge he ought to cherish (as a foster-father) the *Lord Jesus* in his *truth*, in his *Saints*, to cleave unto them *himselfe*, and

The Kings and Queens of England Governours of the Church.

Strange confusion in punishments.

Woe were it with the civill Magistrate if the bloud of soules (beside the ordinary care of the bodies and goods of the (subject) should cry against him.

The Magistrates duties toward the Church the Spouse of to Christ.

to countenance them even to the death, yea also to breake the teeth of the *Lions*, who offer Civill violence and injury unto them.

Usurpers and
true heires of
the spirituall
Crowne of Je-
sus.

But, to see all his Subjects *Christians*, to keepe such *Church* or *Christians* in the purity of worship, and see them doe their duty, this belongs to the *Head* of the *Body Christ Jesus*, and such spirituall Officers as he hath to this purpose deputed, whose right it is according to the true paterne: *Abimelech, Saul, Adonijah, Athalia* were but usurpers: *David, Salomon, Joash, &c.* they were the true heires and types of *Christ Jesus* in His true Power and Authority in His Kingdome.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Luke 9. 54. 55
discussed.

Pea**c**e. The next Scripture brought against such persecution is *Luke 9. 54, 55.* where the Lord Jesus reproveth His Disciples, who would have had fire come downe from Heaven, and devoure those *Samaritanes* that would not receive Him in these words: You know not of what spirit you are, the Son of Man is not come to destroy mens lives, but to save them.

With this Scripture Mr. Cotton joynes the fourth, and answers both in one, which is this, *2 Tim. 2. 24.* The servant of the Lord must not strive, but must be gentle toward all men, suffering the *evill men*, instructing them with meeknesse that are contrary minded and oppose themselves, proving if God peradventure will give them repentance that they may acknowledge the truth, and that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the *Devell* who are taken captive by him at his will.

Unto both these Scriptures it pleaseth him thus to answer: "Both these are directions to Ministers of the Gospel how to deale " (not with obstinate offenders in the Church who sin against conscience, but) either with men without as the *Samaritanes* were, and " many unconverted Christians in *Creet*, whom *Titus* (as an Evangelist) was to seek to convert:

An excellent
saying of per-
secutors them-
selves,

" Or at best with some *Jewes* or *Gentiles* in the Church, who " though carnall, yet were not convinced of the error of their " way: And it is true it became not the Spirit of the Gospel to convert Aliens to the Faith (such as the *Samaritanes* were) by fire " and brimstone, nor to deale harshly in publicke Ministry or private conference with all such severall minded men as either had " not

“not yet entred into *Church fellowship*, or if they had did hitherto sin
 “of *ignorance*, not against *Conscience*: But neither of both these Texts
 “doe hinder the *Minister* of the *Gospel* to proceed in a *Church* way
 “against *Church members*, when they become scandalous offenders
 “either in *life* or *doctrine*, much lesse doe they speake at all to the
 “*Civill Magistrate*.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Truth. **T**His perplexed and ravelled *Answer*, wherein so many things and so doubtfull are wrapt up and intangled together, I shall take in pieces.

First, concerning that of the *Lord Jesus* rebuking his *Disciples* for their rash and ignorant bloudy zeale (*Luc. 9.*) desiring *corporall destruction* upon the *Samaritanes* for refusing the *Lord Jesus*, &c. the *Answerer* affirmeth, that hindreth not the *Ministers* of the *Gospel* to proceed in a *Church* way against scandalous offenders, which is not here questioned, but maintained to bee the holy will of the *Lord*, and a sufficient censure and punishment, if no civill offence against the *Civill State* be committed.

Secondly (saith hee) “Much lesse doth this speake at all to the
 “*Civill Magistrate*.

Where I observe that he implies that beside the censure of the *Lord Jesus*, in the hands of his *spirituall governours*, for any *spirituall* evill in *life* or *doctrine*, the *Civill Magistrate* is also to inflict *corporall punishment* upon the contrary minded: whereas

First, if the *Civill Magistrate* be a *Christian*, a *Disciple* or follower of the meeke *Lambe* of *God*, he is bound to be far from destroying the *bodies* of men, for refusing to receive the *Lord Jesus Christ*, for otherwise hee should not know (according to this speech of the *Lord Jesus*) what *spirit* he was of, yea and to be ignorant of the sweet end of the comming of the *Son of Man*, which was not to destroy the *bodies* of *Men*, but to save both *bodies* and *soules*, *vers. 55. 56.*

Secondly, if the *Civill Magistrate*, being a *Christian*, gifted, *prophesie* in the *Church*, *1 Corin. 1. 14.* although the *Lord Jesus Christ*, whom they in their owne persons hold forth, shall be refused, yet they are here forbidden to call for fire from *heaven*, that is, to procure or inflict any *corporall judgement* upon such offenders, remembering the end of the *Lord Jesus* his comming, not to destroy mens lives, but to save them.

The *Answerer* when he should speake to toleration in the *State*, runnes to punishments in the *Church*, which none can deny.

If the *Civill Magistrate* be a *Christian*, he is bound to be like *Christ* in saving, not destroying mens bodies. The *civill Magistrate* is bound not to inflict nor to suffer any other to inflict violence, stripes, or any *corporall punishment* for evill against *Christ*.

Lastly, this also concernes the conscience of the *Civill Magistrate*, as he is bound to preserve the *civill peace* and quiet of the place and people under him, he is bound to suffer no man to breake the *Civill Peace*, by laying hands of violence upon any, though as vile as the *Samaritanes* for not receiving of the *Lord Iesus Christ*.

Revel. 13. 13.
Fire from
heaven.

What the fire
from heaven is
which the fals
Prophet bring-
eth downe.

It is indeed the ignorance and blinde zeale of the *second Beast*, the *false Prophet*, *Rev. 13. 13.* to perswade the *civill Powers* of the earth to persecute the *Saints*, that is, to bring fiery judgements upon men in a *judiciall way*, and to pronounce that such judgements of imprisonment, banishment, death, proceed from Gods righteous vengeance upon such *Hereticks*. So dealt divers *Bishops* in *France*, and *England* too in *Queenē Marias* dayes with the *Saints* of God: at their putting to death, declaiming against them in their Sermons to the people, and proclaiming, that these persecutions even unto death were Gods just judgements from heaven upon these *Heretickes*.

CH A P. XXXVIII.

2 Tim. 3. 15.
26. examined.

Doublese such fiery spirits (as the *Lord Iesus* said) are not of God: I pray speake to the second place out of *Timothy*, 2. *Epist.* 25. 26.

Truth. I acknowledge this instruction to be meeke and patient, &c. is properly an instruction to the *Ministers* of the Gospel: Yet divers Arguments from hence will truly and fairly be collected, to manifest and evince how farre the *civill Magistrate* ought to bee from dealing with the *civill sword* in *spirituall cases*.

And first (by the way) I desire to aske, What were these *unconverted Christians* in *Crete*, which the *Answerer* compareth with the *Samaritanes*, whom *Titus* (saith he) as an *Evangelist* was to seek to convert; and whether the *Lord Iesus* have any such *Disciples* and *Followers*, who yet are visibly in an *unconverted estate*. O that it may please the *Father of mercies*, the *Father of lights*, to awaken and open the eyes of all that feare before him; that they may see whether this be the *Language of Canaan*, or the *Language of Ahdod*.

A quare what
the Answerer
meanes by his
unconverted
Christian in
Crete.

What is an *unconverted Christian* but in truth an *unconverted Convert*? that is in English, one *unturned* turned: *unholy* holy: *Disciples* or *Followers* of *Iesus* not following of him: In a word, that is *Christians* or anointed by *Christ*, *Antichristians* not anointed with the *Spirit of Iesus Christ*.

Certaine

Certain it is, such they were not unto whom the Spirit of God gives that name, *Act. 11.* And indeed whither can this tend but to uphold the blasphemy of so many as say they are *Jews*, that is, *Christians*, but are not? *Rev. 2.* But as they are not *Christians* from *Christ*, but from the *Beast* and his *Pisture*, so their proper name from *Antichrist* is *Antichristians*.

How sad yet and how true an evidence is this, that the soule of the Answerer (I speake not of his inward soule and person, but of his worship) hath never yet heard the call of the Lord *Iesus*, to come out from those unconverted Churches, from that unconverted *Antichristian Christian* world, and so from *Antichrist Belial*, to seeke fellowship with *Christ Iesus*, and his converted *Christians*, *Disciples* after the first pattern.

Again, I observe the *haste* and *light attention* of the Answerer to these Scriptures (as commonly the spirits of *Gas* children in matters of *Christ's Kingdom* are very *sleepy*) for these notions here spoken of were not (as he speaks) of unconverted *Christians* in *Crete*, whom *Titus* as an *Evangelist* was to convert, but they were such opposites as *Timothy* (to whom *Paul* writes this Letter at *Ephesus*) should meet withall.

CHAP. XXXIX.

PACE. But what is there in this Scripture of *Timothy* alledged

concerning the civill *Magistrates*?

Timothy argue from this place of *Timothy* in particular, thus.

First, if the civill *Magistrates* be *Christians*, or members of the Church, able to prophesie in the Church of *Christ*, then I say as before, they are bound by this command of *Christ* to suffer opposition to their doctrine, with meeknesse and gentlenesse, and to be so farre from striving to subdue their opposites with the civill sword, that they are bound with patience and meeknesse to wait if God peradventure will please to grant repentance unto their opposites.

So also it please the Answerer to acknowledge in these words:

"It becomes not the Spirit of the Gospel to convert Aliens to the Faith (such as the *Samaritanes*, and the unconverted *Christians* in *Crete*) with Fire and Brimstone."

Secondly, be they oppositions within, and Church members (as the Answerer speaks) become scandalous in doctrine, (I speake not of

The original of *Christians*.

The Answerer yet in the unconverted Churches and worships.

Gods people sleepy in the matters of *Christ's Kingdom*, *Cant.* 5.2.

1 Cor. 14. Patience and meeknesse required in all that open *Christs mysteries*.

scandals

The civill
Sword may
make a Nati-
on of Hypo-
crites & Anti-
christians, but
not one Chri-
stian.

Wonderfull
changes of
Religion in
England.

Englands
changes in
point of Reli-
gion.

scandals against the civill State, which the civill Magistrate ought to punish) it is the Lord onely (as this Scripture to *Timothy* implyes) who is able to give them *repentance*, and recover them out of *Sathans* snare: to which end also he hath appointed those holy and dreadfull *censures* in his Church or Kingdome. True it is, the *Sword* may make (as once the Lord complained, *Isa. 10.*) a whole Nation of *Hypocrites*: But to recover a Soule from *Sathan* by *repentance*, and to bring them from *Antichristian doctrine or worship*, to the doctrine or worship *Christian*, in the least true internall or externall submission, that only works the *All-powerfull God*, by the sword of his Spirit in the hand of his *Spiritual officers*.

What a most wofull prooffe hereof have the Nations of the Earth given in all Ages? And to seeke no further then our native Soyle, within a few scores of yeeres, how many wonderfull changes in Religion hath the whole Kingdome made, according to the change of the Governours thereof, in the severall Religions which they themselves imbraced! *Henry the 7.* finds and leaves the kingdome absolutely *Popish*. *Henry the 8.* calls it into a mould half *Popish* halfe *Protestant*. *Edward the 6.* brings forth an Edition all *Protestant*. *Queene Mary* within few yeares defaceth *Edwards* worke, and renders the Kingdome (after her Grandfather *Hen. 7.* his pattern) all *Popish*. *Maries* short life and Religion ends together: and *Elizabeth* reviveth her Brother *Edwards* Modell, all *Protestant*: And some eminent *Witnesses* of Gods Truth against *Antichrist*, have inclined to believe, that before the downfall of that *Beast*, England must once againe bow down her faire Neck to his proud usurping yoke and foot.

Peace. It hath been *Englands* sinfull shame, to fashion & change their *Garments* and Religions with wondrous ease and lightnesse, as a higher Power, a stronger *Sword* hath prevailed; after the ancient patterne of *Nebuchadnezzars* bowing the whole world in one most solemn *uniformitie of worship* to his *Golden Image*, *Dan. 3.*

CHAP. XL.

But it hath been thought, or said, Shall *oppositions* against the Truth escape unpunished? will they not prove *mischievous*, &c.

Truth. I answer (as before) concerning the blinde Guides (in
case

case there be no *Civill offence* committed) the *Magistrates*, & all men that by the mercy of God to themselves discern the *miserie* of such *Opposites*, have cause to lament and bewaile that fearfull condition wherein such are entangled, to wit, in the *snarles* & *chains* of *Satan*, with which they are so invincibly caught and held, that no power in *Heaven* or *Earth*, but the Right hand of the *Lord* in the meeke and gentle dispensing of the *Word* of Truth, can releate and quit them.

The miserie
of opposites a-
gainst the
Truth.

Those many false Christs (of whom the Lord Jesus forewarnes, *Mat. 24.*) have sutablely their false *bodies*, *faith*, *spirit*, *Baptisme*, as the Lord Jesus, hath his true *body*, *faith*, *spirit*, &c. *Ephes. 4.* correspondent also are their *weapons*, and the *successes*, issue, or operation of them. A *carnall weapon* or *sword* of *steele* may produce a *carnall repentance*, a shew, an outside, an *uniformitie* through a State or *Kingdome*: But it hath pleased the Father to exalt the *Lord Jesus* only, to be a Prince (armed with *power* and meanes sufficient) to give *repentance* to *Israel*, *Acts 5. 31.*

A difference
between the
true and false
Christ and
Christians.

Accordingly an *unbelieving* Soule being dead in sinne (although he be changed from one *worship* to another, like a dead man shifted into severall changes of *apparell*) cannot please God, *Heb. 11.* and consequently, whatever such an *unbelieving* & *unregenerate* person acts in *Worship* or *Religion*, it is but sinne, *Rom. 14.* *Preaching* sinne, *praying* (though without beads or booke) sinne; *breaking of bread*, or *Lords supper* sinne, yea as odious as the oblation of Swines blood, a Dogs neck, or *killing of a Man*, *Isa. 66.*

The worship
of unbelieving
unregenerate
persons.

But *Faith* it is that gift which proceeds alone from the Father of Lights, *Phil. 1. 29.* and till he please to make his *light* arise and open the eyes of blind sinners, their soules shall lie fast asleep (and the faster, in that a *sword* of *steele* compells them to a *worship* in *hypocrisie*) in the dungeons of *spirituall darknesse* and *Sathans slavery*.

Peace. I adde, that a *civill sword* (as wofull experience in all ages hath proved) is so far from bringing or helping forward an *opposite* in *Religion* to *repentance*, that *Magistrates* sinne grievously against the *worke* of God and *blood* of Soules, by such proceedings. Because as (commonly) the sufferings of *false* and *Antichristian* Teachers harden their followers, who being blind, by this meanes are occasioned to tumble into the *ditch* of *Hell* after their *blind leaders*, with more inflamed zeale of lying confidence. So secondly, *violence* and a *sword* of *steele* begets such an *impression* in the sufferers,

The danger &
mischief of a
civill sword in
Soule matters,
which makes
the civill Ma-
gistrate deeply
guilty of all
those evils
which he aims
to suppress.

That cannot be a true Religion, which needs carnall weapons to uphold it. Persecutors beget a persuasion of their cruelty in the hearts of the persecuted.

Antoninus Pius his golden act.

Isa. 2. 4. Mic. 4. 3. Isa. 11. 9. concerning Christs peaceable Kingdom discussed.

Mr. Cottons excellent interpretation of those Prophecies.

His doctrine and practice condemned by that interpretation.

that certainly they conclude (as indeed that Religion cannot be true which needs such instruments of violence to uphold it so) that Persecutors are far from soft and gentle commiseration of the blindness of others. To this purpose it pleased the Father of Spirits, of old, to constrain the Emperour of Rome, Antoninus Pius, to write to all the Governours of his Provinces to forbear to persecute the Christians, because such dealing must needs be so far from converting the Christians from their way, that it rather begat in their mindes an opinion of their cruelty, &c.

CHAP. XLI.

Peace. The next Scripture against such persecution, is that of the Prophet, Isa. 2. 4. together with Mic. 4. 3. they shall break their swords into plough-shares, and their speares into pruning-hooks. Isa. 11. 9. There shall none hurt or destroy in all the mountaine of my Holinesse.

Unto which it pleased Mr. Cotton to say, "That these predictions doe onely shew, first, with what kinde of weapons he should subdue the Nations to the obedience of the faith of the Gospell, not by fire and sword, and weapons of War, but by the power of the Word and Spirit of God, which, saith he, no man doubts of."

"Secondly, those predictions of the Prophets shew, what the meeke and peaceable temper will be of all true converts to Christianity; not Lyons or Leopards, not cruell oppressors nor malignant oppressors or biters one of another: but doth not forbid them to drive ravenous wolves from the sheep-fold, and to restrain them from devouring the sheep of Christ."

Truth. In this first excellent and truly Christian Answer, me thinks the Answerer may heare a voyce from Heaven, Out of thine owne mouth will I judge thee: For what can be said more heavenly by the tongues of Men and Angels, to shew the heavenly meeke temper of all the Souldiers of the Lambe of God, as also to set forth what are the Spirituall weapons and ammunition of the holy war and battle of the Gospell and Kingdome of Iesus Christ, for the subduing of the Nations of the World unto him.

Peace. And yet out of the same mouth (which should not be, saith James) proceeds good and evil, sweet and sowre; for he addes: But this doth not forbid them to drive ravenous wolves from the sheep-

sheepfold, and to reſtraine them from devouring the ſheepe of *Chriſt*.

Truth. In theſe words (according to the judgement here maintained by him) he fights againſt the former *truth* (to wit, that by *ſpirituall weapons Chriſt Jeſus* will ſubdue the Nations of the Earth to the obedience of the *Gospell*) for by driving away theſe *Wolves* hee intends not onely the *reſiſtance* and *violence* which the *Shepherds* of *Chriſt* ought ſpiritually to make, but the *civill reſiſtance* of the *materi- all Swords, Staves Guns, &c.* Whence I argue, that ſame power that forceth the evill (or *Wolves*) out, forceth the good (the *Sheepe*) in; for of the *ſame* or *like* things is the *ſame* or *like* reaſon; as the ſame *arme of fleſh* that with a *ſtaffe* beats off a *Wolfe*, with a *Rod* and *Hooke* brings in the *Sheepe*: the ſame *dog* that aſſaulteth and teareth the *Wolfe*, frighteth and forceth in the *ſtragling Sheep*.

Spiritual and myſticall Wolves.

CHAP. XLII.

Peace. **B**Ut for the clearer opening of this *mystery*, I pray explicate that Scripture where the *Spirit of God* is pleaſed to uſe this ſimilitude of *Wolves*, *Acts 20. 29.* out of which (keeping to the Allegory) I ſhall propoſe theſe *Quæries*.

Acts 20. 29. opened.

First, what *Wolves* were theſe *Paul* warnes of?

Truth. *Anſw.* *Wolves* literally he will not ſay: Nor ſecondly, *perſecutors* of the *Flock*, ſuch as the *Romane Emperours* were, *Magiſtrates* under him.

Therefore (thirdly) ſuch as brought other *Religions* and *Worſhips*, as the *Spirit of God* opens it, *verſ. 30.* Such as amongſt themſelves ſhould ſpeake *perverſe things*, as many *Antichriſts* did, and eſpecially *The Antichriſt*. And I aſke whether or no ſuch as may hold forth other *Worſhips* or *Religions*, (*Jewes, Turkes, or Antichriſtians*) may not be peaceable and quiet *Subjeſts*, loving and helpfull neighbours, faire and juſt *dealers*, true and loyall to the *civill government*? It is cleare they may from all *Reason* and *Experience* in many flouriſhing *Cities* and *Kingdomes* of the *World*, and ſo offend not againſt the *civill State* and *Peace*; nor incurre the puniſhment of the *civill ſword*, notwithſtanding that in *ſpiritual* and *myſticall* account they are ravenous and greedy *Wolves*.

What thoſe *Wolves* were. *Acts 20. 29.*

Peace. 2. I quære to whom *Paul* gave this charge to watch againſt them, *verſ. 31.*

Truth.

Truth. They were not the *Magistrates* of the *City of Ephesus*, but the *Elders* or *Ministers* of the *Church of Christ* (his mysticall flock of sheepe) at *Ephesus*: Vnto them was this charge of watching given, and so consequently of driving away these *Wolves*.

And however that many of these charges and exhortations given by that *One Shepherd Christ Iesus* to the *Shepherds* or *Ministers* of *Churches*, be commonly attributed and directed (by the Answerer in this discourse) to the *civill Magistrate*; yet I desire in the feare and holy presence of God it may bee inquired into, whether in all the *Will* or *Testament* of *Christ* there bee any such word of *Christ* by way of *command*, *promise*, or *example*, countenancing the *Governors* of the *civill State* to meddle with these *Wolves*, if in *civill* things peaceable and obedient.

Charges directed to Ministers of the spiritual kingdome, f. Ifly applied to the Magistrates of the civill. No word of Christ to the civill Magistrate to feed his flock, but to his Ministers, who (if true) have spirituall power sufficient against spirituall Wolves.

Peace. Truly if this charge were given to the *Magistrates* at *Ephesus*, or any *Magistrates* in the *World*, doubtlesse they must bee able to discern and determine (out of their owne officiall abilities in these spirituall Law questions) who are spirituall *Sheep*, what is their *food*, what their *poison*, what their *properties*, who their *Keepers*, &c. So on the contrary who are *Wolves*, what their *properties*, their *haunts*, their *assaults*, the manner of taking, &c. *Spiritually*: (and this beside the care and study of the *Civill Lawes*, and the discerning of his owne proper *Civill Sheep*, obedient *Sheepe*, &c. as also wolvishe oppressors, &c. whom he is bound to punish and suppress)

Truth. I know that *Civill Magistrates* (in some places) have declined the name of *Head* of the *Church*, and *Ecclesiasticall Judge*, yet can they not with good conscience decline the name, if they doe the *worke*, and performe the *office* of determining and punishing a meerly spirituall *Wolfe*.

Magistrates decline the name of Head of the Church, and yet practise the headship or government.

They must be sufficiently also able to judge in all *spirituall causes*, and that with their owne, and not with other mens eyes, (no more then they doe in *civill causes*) contrary to the common practice of the *Governours* and *Rulers* of *Civill States*, who often set up that for a *Religion* or *Worship* to God, which the *Clergie* or *Churchmen* (as men speake) shall in their Consciences agree upon.

And if this be not so, to wit, that *Magistrates* must not be *Spiritual Judges* (as some decline it in the title, *Supreme Head* and *Governour*) why is *Gallio* wont to be exclaimed against for refusing to be a *Judge* in such matters as concerned the *Jewish Worship* and *Religion*? How is he censured for a *Prophane person*, without conscience, &c.

&c. in that he would bee no *Judge* or *Head*? (for that is all one in point of Government.)

Peace. In the third place I quærie whether the *Father* who gave, The *Elect* shall and the *Sonne* who keeps the *Sheepe*, bee not greater then all? not be devoured. Who can pluck these *Sheepe* the *Elect* out of his hand, which answers that common objection of that danger of devouring, although there were no other weapons in the world appointed by the Lord *Jesus*. But

CHAP. XLIII.

Fourthly, I ask, Were not these *Elders* or *Ministers* of the Church of *Ephesus* sufficiently furnished from the Lord *Jesus* to drive away these mysticall and spirituall Wolves?

Truth. True it is, against the inhumane and uncivill violence of Persecutors, they were not, nor are *Gods children* able and provided: but to resist, drive away, expell, and kill spirituall & mysticall Wolves by the word of the Lord, none are fit to be *Christis* Shepherds who are not able, *Tit. 1.9.10.11.* The *Bishop* or *Overseer* must be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the *Gainayers*: which *Gainayers* to be by him convinced, (that is, overcome or subdued though it may be in themselves ever obstinate) they were I say as greedy Wolves in *Crete*, as any could be at *Ephesus*: for so saith *Paul* *vers. 10.* they were unruly and vaine talkers, deceivers, whose moutnes must bee stopped, who subverted whole houses; and yet *Titus* (and every ordinary Shepherd of a flocke of *Christ*) had ability sufficient to defend the flock from spirituall and mysticall wolves without the helpe of the Civill Magistrate.

Peace. In this respect therefore me thinks we may fitly allude to that excellent answer of *Iob* to *Bildad* the *Shuhite*, *Iob 26.* How hast thou helped him that is without power? How savest thou the arme that hath no strength? How hast thou counsell'd him that hath no wisdom? how hast thou plentifully declared the thing as it is?

5. Lastly, I ask, whether (as men deale with Wolves) these wolves at *Ephesus* were intended by *Paul* to be killed, their braines dashed out with stones, staves, halberts, guns, &c. in the hands of the *Elders* of *Ephesus*, &c?

Truth. Doubtlesse (comparing spirituall things with spirituall)

all such myſtical wolves muſt ſpiritually and myſtically to be ſlain And the *Witneſſes of Truth*, Revel. 11. ſpeake fire, and kill all that hurt them, by that ſerie Word of God, and that two-edged ſword in their hand, *Pſal.* 149.

Unmercifull
and bloody
doctrine.

But oh what ſtreames of the *blood* of Saints have been and muſt be ſhed (untill the *Lambe* have obtained the *Victorie*, Revel. 17. by this unmercifull (and in the ſtate of the New *Teſtament*, where the *Church* is ſpread all the *World* over) moſt bloody doctrine, viz. The *wolves* (Hereticks) are to be driven away, their braines knocked out and kill'd, the poore ſheepe to be preſerved for whom *Chriſt* died, &c.

Is not this to take *Chriſt Jeſus*, and make him a temporall King by force? *John* 6. 15. Is not this to make his *Kingdome* of this world to ſet up a civill and temporall *Israel*, to bound out new *Earthly holy Lands* of *Canaan*, yea and to ſet up a *Spaniſh Inquiſition* in all parts of the *World*, to the ſpeedy deſtruction of thouſands, yea of millions of Soules, and the frustrating of the ſweet end of the coming of the *Lord Jeſus*, to wit, to ſave mens ſoules (and to that end not to deſtroy their bodies) by his own blood?

CHAP. XLIV.

John 6. 15.
2 Cor. 10. 4.
diſcuſſed.

Peaſe. The next Scripture produced againſt ſuch Perſecution is *2 Cor.* 10. 4. The weapons of our warfare are not carnall but mighty through God to the pulling down of ſtrong holds, caſting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth it ſelf againſt the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of *Chriſt*, and having in a readineſſe to avenge all diſobedience, &c.

Unto which it is answered, "When *Paul* ſaith, The weapons of our warfare are not carnall, but ſpiritual: he denieth not civil weapons of Juſtice to the civil Magiſtrate, *Rom* 13: but only to Church-officers: and yet the weapons of Church-officers he acknowledgeth to be ſuch, as though they be ſpiritual, yet are ready to take vengeance on all diſobedience, *2 Cor.* 10. 6. which hath reference amongſt other Ordinances, to the cenſures of the Church againſt ſcandalous offenders.

Truth, I acknowledge that herein the Spirit of God denieth not civil

civill weapons of justice to the Civill Magistrate, which the Scripture he quotes *Rom. 13* abundantly testifie.

Yet withall I must aske, why he here affirmeth the Apostle denies not *civill weapons of Justice to the civill Magistrate*? of which there is no question, unless that (according to his scope of proving *execution for conscience*) he intends withall, that the Apostle denies not *civill weapons of justice to the Civill Magistrate in Spirituall and Religious causes*: The contrary whereunto (the Lord assisting) I shall evince, both from this very Scripture, and his owne observation, and lastly by that *13. of the Romanes*, by himselfe quoted.

First then from this Scripture and his owne Observation: The *weapons of Church officers* (saith he) are such, which though they be *spirituall*, are ready to take vengeance on all *disobedience*; which hath reference (saith he) amongst other Ordinances, to the *Censures of the Church* against scandalous offenders.

I hence observe, that there being in this Scripture held forth a two-fold state, a *Civill state* and a *Spirituall*, *Civill officers* and *spirituall*, *civill weapons* and *spirituall weapons*, *civill vengeance* and *punishment*, and a *spirituall vengeance* and *punishment*: although the Spirit speaks not here expressly of *Civill Magistrates* and their *civill weapons*, yet these States being of different Natures and Considerations, as far differing as *Spirit* from *Flesh*, I first observe, that *Civill weapons* are most improper and unfitting in matters of the *Spirituall state* and *kingdome*, though in the *Civill state* most proper and suitable:

The difference of the civill & spirituall estate.

Civill weapons most improper in spirituall causes, lest firely exemplified by that similitude, 2 Cor. 10. 4.

CHAP. XLV.

Or. (to keepe to the *similitude* which the Spirit useth, for instance) To batter downe a *strong hold*, *high wall*, *fort*, *tower* or *castle*, men bring not a first and second *Admonition*, and after obstinacie, *Excommunication*, which are *spirituall weapons* concerning them that be in the Church: nor *exhortations to Repent* and be *baptized*, to beleeve in the Lord Jesus, &c. which are proper weapons to them that be without, &c. But to take a *strong hold*, men bring *Canons*, *Culverins*, *Saker*, *Bullets*, *Powder*, *Musquets*, *Swords*, *Pikes*, &c. and these to this end are weapons effectuall and proportionable.

Spirituell weapons, only effectuell in spirituall & soule causes,

Civill weapons not only improper, but unnecessary in spirituall causes.

No earthly Kings or Governours will be so served, as we pretend to serve the King of Kings.

Psal. 45.
The white Troopers.

Spirituell Ammunition,
Eph. 6. applied
Materiall and Spirituell Artillery unfitly joyned together.

On the other side, to batter downe Idolatry, false worship, heresie, schisme, blinnesse, hardnesse, out of the soule and spirit, it is vaine, improper, and unfutable to bring those weapons which are used by persecutors, stocks, whips, prisons, swords, gibbets, stakes, &c. (where these seem to prevaile with some Cities or Kingdomes, a stronger force sets up againe, what a weaker pull'd downe) but against these spirituall strong holds in the soules of men, Spirituall Artillery and weapons are proper, which are mighty through God to subdue and bring under the very thought to obedience, or else to binde fast the soule with chaines of darknesse, and locke it up in the prison of unbelesse and hardnesse to eternitie.

2. I observe that as civill weapons are improper in this businesse, and never able to effect ought in the soule: So (although they were proper, yet) they are unnecessary, for if as the Spirit here saith (and the Answerer grants) spirituall weapons in the hand of Church officers are able and ready to take vengeance on all disobedience, that is able and mighty, sufficient and ready for the Lords worke either to save the soule, or to kill the soule of whomsoever, be the party or parties opposite, in which respect I may againe remember that speech of Job, How hast thou helped him that hath no power? Job 26.

Peace. Offer this (as Malachie once spake) to the Governours the Kings of the Earth, when they besiege, beleagure, and assault great Cities, Castles, Forts, &c. should any subject pretending his service bring store of pins, sticks, straws, bulrushes, to beat and batter downe stone walls, mighty Bulwarkes, what might his expectation and reward be, but at least the centure of a man distract, beside himselfe? &c.

Truth. What shall we then conceive of His displeasure, (who is the chiefe or Prince of the Kings of the earth, and rides upon the word of Truth and meeknesse, which is that white Horse, Rev. 6. and Rev. 19. with His holy witnesses the white Troopers upon white horses) when to His helpe and aid men bring and adde such unnecessary, improper and weake munition?

Will the Lord Jesus (did He ever in His owne Person practice, or did he appoint to) joine to His Breastplate of Righteousnesse, the breastplate of iron and Steele? to the Helmet of righteousness and salvation in Christ, an helmet and crest of iron, brasse, or steel, a target of wood to His shield of Faith? His two edged sword comming forth of the mouth of Jesus, the materiall sword, the worke of Smiths and

and Cutlers? or a girdle of shooes leather to the girdle of truth, &c. Excellently fit and proper is that *alarme* and *item*, *Psal. 2.* Be wise theréfore O ye *Kings* (especially those ten *Horns*, *Rev. 17.*) who under pretence of fighting for *Christ Iesus* give their power to the *Beast* against Him, and be warned ye *Judges* of the Earth: *Kisse the Son*, that is with *subjection* and *affection*, acknowledge Him only the *King* and *Judge* of *soules* (in that power bequeathed to His *Ministers* and *Churches*) lest if His wrath be kindled, yea but a little, then *blessed* are they that *trust* in Him.

An alarme to
civill or earth-
ly Rulers.

CHAP. XLVI.

Peace. NOW in the second place concerning that Scripture, *Rom. 13.* which it pleaseth the *Answerer* to quote, and himselfe, and so many excellent servants of God have insisted upon to prove such *persecution* for *Conscience*; how have both he and they *wrested* this Scripture (not as *Peter* writes of the *wicked*, to their *eternall*, yet) to their owne and others *temporall destruction* by *Civill wars* and *combustions* in the world?

Concerning
the civill Ru-
lers power in
spirituall cau-
ses discust.

My humble request therefore is to the Father of *Lights*, to send out the bright *beames* of the *Sun* of *Righteousnesse*, and to scatter the mist which that old *serpent*, the great *jugler Sathaz*, hath raised about this holy Scripture, and my request to you (*divine Truth*) is for your care and paines to inlighten and cleare this Scripture.

Truth. First then upon the serious *examination* of this whole Scripture it will appeare that from the ninth verse of 12 Chap. to the end of this whole 13 Chap. the Spirit handles the duties of the Saints in the carefull observation of the second Table in their civil conversation, or walking towards men, and speaks not at all of any point or matter of the first Table concerning the *Kingdome* of the *Lord Iesus*.

Rom. 13.
speakes not at
all of spirituall
but civill af-
faires.

For, having in the whole Epistle handled that great point of free *Justification* by the free *Grace* of God in *Christ*, in the beginning of the 12 Chap. he exhorts the *Beleevers* to give and dedicate themselves unto the Lord both in *soule* and *body*, and unto the 9 verse of the 12 Chap. he expressely mentioneth their *conversation* in the *Kingdome* or *Body* of *Christ Iesus*, together with the severall Officers thereof.

And from the 9 ver. to the end of the 13 he plainly discourseth of
L their

The scope of
Rom. 13.

Love to man,
the duty of the
whole second
Table.

How love ful-
filleth the Law

their civill conversation, and walking, one toward another, and with all men, from whence he hath faire occasion to speake largely concerning their subjection to *Magistrates* in the 13 Chap.

Hence it is that verse 7 of this 13 Chap. *Paul* exhorts to performance of *love* to all men (*Magistrates and subjects*) verse 7. 8.

Render therefore to all their due, *tribute* to whom *tribute* is due, *custome* to whom *custome*, *fear* to whom *fear*, *honour* to whom *honour*. Owe nothing to any man, but to *love* one another, for he that *loveth* another hath fulfilled the *Law*.

If any man doubt (as the Papists speak) whether a man may perfectly fulfill the *Law*; every man of sound judgement is ready to answer him that these words. [He that *loveth* hath fulfilled the *Law*] concerneth not the whole *Law* in the first Table, that is the *worship* and *Kingdome of God in Christ*.

Secondly, That the Apostle speaks not here of perfect observation of the second Table without failing in word or act toward men, but layes open the summe and substance of the *Law*, which is *love*, and that he that walkes by the rule of *love* toward all men (*Magistrates and subjects*) he hath rightly attained unto what the *Law* aimes at, and so in *Evangelicall obedience* fulfills and keeps the *Law*.

Hence therefore againe in the 9. verse having discoursed of the 3. Command in this point of *Superiours*, he makes all the rest of the Commandements of the second Table, which concerne our *walking* with man (viz. *Thou shalt not kill*, *Thou shalt not commit adultery*, *Thou shalt not steale*, *Thou shalt not beare false witnessse*, *Thou shalt not covet*: and if there be any other Commandement, to be briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy selfe*).

And verse 10 *Love* worketh no ill to his neighbour, therefore *love* is the fulfilling of the *Law*, that is (as before) the *Law* concerning our *civill conversation* toward All men, *Magistrates* or *Governours*, and fellow-subjects of all conditions.

CHAP. XLVII.

Rom. 13 so interpreted even by them that held persecution for conscience

Peace.

Although the Scripture is sufficient to make the man of God perfect, and the soole wise to salvation, and our faistr in God must be only founded upon the Rocke Christ, and not upon the

the sand of mens judgements and opinions: Yet as *Paul* alledgeth the judgement and sayings of *unbelievers* for their conviction out of their owne teners and grants: So I pray you to set downe the words of one or two (not *unbelievers* in their persons, but excellent and pretious servants and witnesses of God in their times, whose names are sweet and pretious to all that feare God) who although their judgement ran in the common streame, viz. That *Magistrates* were keepers of the 2 *Tables*, defenders of the Faith against *Hereticks*, and notwithstanding what ever they have written for defence of their judgements, yet the light of truth so evidently shined upon their senses in this Scripture, that they absolutely denied the 13 of the *Romanes* to concerne any matter of the first *Table*.

Truth. First, I shall produce that excellent servant of God, *Calvin*, who upon this 13 to the *Romanes* writes; *Tota autem hæc dispositio est de civilibus prefecturis: Itaq; frustra inde sacrilegam suam tyrannidem stabilire moliuntur qui Dominatum in conscientias exercent*. But (saith he) this whole discourse concerneth *civill Magistrates*, and therefore in vaine doe they who exercise power over consciences, goe about from this place to establish their sacrilegious tyranny.

Peace. I know how far most men (and especially the sheep of *Iesus* will flie from the thought of exercising tyranny over consciences) that happily they will disclaime the dealing of all with mens consciences: Yet if the Acts and Statutes which are made by them concerning the worship of God be attended to; their profession (and that out of zeale according to the patterne of that ceremoniall and figurative state of *Israel*) to suffer no other Religion nor worship in their Territories, but one; their profession and practice to defend their Faith from reproach and blaspemy of *Hereticks* by *Civill weapons*, and all that from this very 13 of the *Romanes*; I say if these particulars and others be with feare and trembling in the presence of the most High examined; the wonderfull deceit of their owne hearts shall appeare unto them, and how guilty they will appeare to be of wresting this Scripture before the Tribunall of the most High.

Truth. Again *Calvin* speaking concerning fulfilling of the Law by love, writes thus on the same place: *Sed Paulus in totam Legem non respicit, tantum de officiis loquitur, quæ nobis erga proximum demandantur in lege*: That is, *Paul* hath not respect unto the whole Law, he speaks

Calvins judgement of Rom. 13.

Gods people loath to be found, yet proved persecutors.

only of those duties which the Law commands towards our neighbours, and it is manifest, that in this place by our neighbours hee meanes *high and low, Magistrates and subjects*, unto whom we ought to walke by the rule of love, paying unto every one their due.

Againe, *Ceterum Paulus hic tantum meminit secunde Tabula quia de ea tantum erat questio*: But Paul here only mentioneth the second Table, because the question was only concerning that.

Calvin confesseth that the first Table concerning Gods worship, is not here in Rom. 13. touched.

And againe, *Quod autem repetit complementum legis esse dilectionem, intellige (ut prius) de ea legis parte quod hominum societatem spectat: Prior enim legis tabula quae est de cultu Dei minime hic attingitur*: But in that he repeateth that love is the fulfilling of the Law, understand as before, that he speakes of that part of the Law which respects *humane society*; for the first Table of the Law which concerneth the Worship of God is not in the least manner here touched.

Beza upon Rom. 13.

After Calvin, his successour in Geneva that holy and learned Beza upon the word *Αγαπησάμενοι*, if there be any other Commandement it is summed up in this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy selfe, writes thus: *Tota lex nihil aliud quam amorem Dei & proximi praecipit, sed tamen cum Apostolus hoc loco de multis hominum officiis disserat, legis vocabulum ad secundam Tabulam restringendam puto*.

The whole Law (saith he) commands nothing else but the love of God, and yet neverthelesse since the Apostle in this place discourseth of the duties of men one toward another, I thinke this terme law ought to be restrained to the second Table.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Peace. Pray now proceed to the second Argument from this Scripture against the use of *civil weapons* in matters of Religion and spirituall worship.

Truth. The Spirit of God here commands subjection and obedience to *higher Powers*, even to the *Romane Emperours* and all subordinate *Magistrates*; and yet the Emperours and Governours under them were strangers from the life of God in Christ, yea most averse and opposite, yea cruell and bloody Persecutors of the name and Followers of *Iesus*: and yet unto these is this *subjection and obedience*

com-

commanded. Now true it is, that as the *civill Magistrate* is apt not to content himselfe with the *majesty* of an *earthly Throne, Crowne, Sword, Scepter*, but to seat himselfe in the *Throne of David* in the *Church*: So *Gods* people (and it may be in *Pauls* time) considering their high and glorious *preferment* and *priviledges* by *Iesus Christ*, were apt to be much tempted to despise *Civill Governours*, especially such as were ignorant of the *Son of God*, and persecuted him in his servants.

Now then I argue, if the *Apostle* should have commanded this *Paul* writes not to the *Romane Emperours* and *Romane Magistrates* in spirituall causes, as to defend the truth which they were no way able to discern, but persecuted, (and upon trust from others no Magistrate (not perswaded in his owne conscience) is to take it.)

Or else to punish Hereticks, whom then also they must discern and judge, or else condemne them as the *Jewes* would have *Pilate* condemne the *Lord Iesus* upon the sentence of others, I say if *Paul* should have (in this Scripture) put this worke upon these *Romane Governours*, and commanded the *Churches of Christ* to have yielded subjection in any such matters, he must (in the judgement of all men) have put out the eye of *Faith* and *Reason* and *Sense* at once.

CHAP. XLIX.

Peace. IT is said by some, Why then did *Paul* himselfe, *Act. 25.* appeale to *Cesar*, unlesse that *Cesar* (though he was not, yet) he ought to have beene a fit Judge in such matters?

Truth. I answer, if *Paul* in this *Appeale* to *Cesar*, had referred and submitted simply and properly the cause of *Christ*, his *Ministry* and *Ministration* to the *Romane Emperours* Tribunal, knowing him to be an *Idolatrous stranger* from the true *God*, and a *Lion-like bloody persecutor* of the *Lord Iesus*, the *Lambe of God*, I say let it be considered whether or no he had committed these 5. *Evils*.

The first against the dimmest light of *Reason* in appealing to darkness to judge light, to unrighteousnesse to judge righteousness, the spirituallly blinde, to judge and end the controversie concerning heavenly colours.

Secondly, against the cause of *Religion*, which if condemned by every inferiour *Idolater*, must needs bee condemned by the *Cesars* themselves, who (*Nabuchadnezzar-like*) set up their *State-images* or

Pauls appeale to *Cesar* discussed.

If *Paul* had appealed to *Cesar*, in spirituall things, he had committed 5. evils.

Religious, commanding the *Worlds* uniformity of worship to them.

Thirdly, against the holy State and Calling of the *Christians* themselves, who (by virtue of their subjection to *Christ*) even the least of them are in *spirituall* things above the highest *Potentates* or *Emperours* in the world, who continue in *enmity* against, or in an *ignorant naturall* state without *Christ Iesus*. This honour or high *exaltation* above all his *Holy ones*, to binde (not literally but *spirituall*) their *Kings* in *Chaines*, and their *Nobles* in *Linkes of Iron* *Psal. 49.*

Fourthly, against his owne *Calling*, *Apostleship*, or office of *Ministry*, unto which *Cesar* himselfe and all *Potentates* (in *spirituall* and *oule* matters) ought to have submitted: and unto which in controversies of *Christs Church* and *Kingdome*, *Cesar* himselfe ought to have *appealed*, the *Church* of God being built upon the foundation of the *Apostles* and *Prophets*, *Ephes. 2. 20.*

Emperours
themselves, if
Christians,
subject to the
Apostles and
Churches in
spirituall
things.

And therefore in case that any of the *Romane Governours*, or the *Emperour* himselfe had beene humbled and converted to *Christianity*, by the preaching of *Christ*, were not they themselves bound to subject themselves unto the power of the *Lord Iesus* in the hands of the *Apostles* and *Churches*, and might not the *Apostles* and *Churches* have refused to have baptized or washed them into the profession of *Christ Iesus*, upon the apprehension of their unworthinesse?

Or if received into *Christian Fellowship*, were they not to stand at the Bar of the *Lord Iesus* in the *Church*, concerning either their *opinions* or *practises*, were they not to be cast out and delivered unto *Sathan* by the power of the *Lord Iesus*, if after once and twice *admonition* they persist obstinate, as faithfully and impartially, as if they were the meanest in the *Empire*: Yea, although the *Apostles*, the *Churches*, the *Elders* or *Governours* thereof were poore and meane despised persons in *civill* respects, and were themselves bound to yeeld all *faithfull* and *loyall obedience* to such *Emperours* and *Governours* in *Civill* things.

Were they not (if *Christians*) bound themselves to have submitted to those *spirituall* decrees of the *Apostles* and *Elders*, as well as the lowest and meanest members of *Christ*, *Act. 16*? And if so, how should *Paul* appeale in *spirituall* things to *Cesar*, or write to the *Churches* of *Iesus* to submit in *Christian* or *Spirituall* matters?

Fifthly, if *Paul* had appealed to *Cesar* in *spirituall* respects, hee had

had greatly prophaned the holy name of *God* in holy things, in so improper and vaine a prostitution of *spirituall* things to carnall and naturall judgements, which are not able to comprehend *spirituall* matters, which are alone spiritually discerned, 1 *Cor.* 2.

And yet *Cesar* (as a *civill* supreme *Magistrate*) ought to defend *Paul* from *Civill* violence, and slanderous accusations about *sedition*, *mutiny*, *civill* disobedience, &c. And in that sense who doubts but *Gods* people may appeale to the *Romane* *Cesar*, an *Egyptian* *Pharaoh*, a *Philistian* *Abimelecke*, an *Assyrian* *Nabuchadnezzar*, the great *Mogol*, *Prestre* *Iohn*, the great *Turke*, or an *Indian* *Sachim*?

Lawfull ap-
peales in civill
things to Ci-
vill Magi-
strates.

CHAP. L.

V V Hich is the third Argument against the *civill* *Magi-
strates* power in *spirituall* and soule matters out of
this Scripture, *Rom.* 13?

Trnth. I dispute from the nature of the *Magistrates* weapons, *vers.*
4. He hath a sword (which hee beares not in vaine) delivered to
him, as I acknowledge from *Gods* appointment in the free consent
and choice of the subjects for common good.

We must distinguish of swords.

We finde foure sorts of swords mentioned in the *New Testament*.
First, the sword of persecution, which *Herod* stretched forth against
Iames, *Act.* 12.

Foure sorts of
swords men-
tioned in the
*New Testa-
ment*.

Secondly, the sword of *Gods* Spirit, expressly said to be the *Word* of
God, *Ephes.* 6. A sword of two edges caried in the mouth of *Christ*,
Rev. 1. which is of strong and mighty operation, piercing betweene
the bones and the marrow, betweene the soule and the spirit, *Heb.* 4.

Thirdly, the great sword of War and Destruction, given to him
that rides that terrible *Red Horse* of War, so that he takes Peace from
the Earth, and men kill one another, as is most lamentably true in the
slaughter of so many hundred thousand soules within these few
yeares in severall parts of *Europe*, our owne and others.

None of these 3 swords are intended in this Scripture :

The Civill
Sword.

Therefore, fourthly, there is a *Civill* sword, called the Sword of
Civill justice; which being of a *materiall* *civill* nature, for the defence
of Persons, Estates, Families, Liberties of a City or *Civill* State, and
the suppressing of *uncivill* or injurious persons or actions by such
civill punishment, It cannot according to its utmost reach and capa-
citic

citie (now under *Christ*, when all *Nations* are meerly *civill*, without any such typicall holy respect upon them, as was upon *Israel* a *Nationall Church*) I say, cannot extend to *spirituall* and *Soule-causes*, *Spirituall* and *Soule punishment*, which belongs to that *spirituall sword* with two edges, the *soule-piercing* (in *soule-saving* or *soule-killing*) the Word of God.

CHAP. LII.

Tribute, Customs, &c.
meerly civill
recompences
for civill work.

Truth. A Fourth Argument from this Scripture I take in the 6. verse, from *Tribute, customs, &c.* which is a meerly *civill Reward* or *Recompence* for the *Magistrates* worke. Now as the *wages* are, such is the *worke*: But the *wages* are meerly *civill*, *Customs, Tribute, &c.* not the *contributions* of the *Saints* or *Churches* of *Christ* (proper to the *Spirituall* and *Christian state*) and such *work* only must the *Magistrate* attend upon, as may properly deserve such *civill wages*, reward or recompence.

Magistrates
called by God
Gods Ministers.

Lastly, that the *Spirit of God* never intended to direct or warrant the *Magistrate* to use his *Power* in *spirituall* affaires and *Religious* worship: I argue, from the *terme* or *title* it pleaseth the *wisedome* of God to give such *Civill officers*, to wit, (vers. 6.) *Gods Ministers*.

Now at the very first blush, no man denies a double *Ministerie*.

The Spirituall
Ministry.

The one appointed by *Christ Iesus* in his *Church*, to gather, to govern, receive in, cast out, and order all the affaires of the *Church*, the *House*, *Citie* or *Kingdome* of *God*, Ephes. 4. 1 Cor. 12.

The civill Ministry or service.

Secondly, a *Civill Ministry* or office, meerly *humane* and *civill*, which Men agree to constitute (called therefore an *humane creation*, (1 Pet. 2.) and is as true and lawfull in those *Nations*, *Cities*, *Kingdomes*, &c. which never heard of the true *God*, nor his holy *Sonne Iesus*, as in any part of the *World* beside, where the Name of *Iesus* is most taken up.

From all which *premises*, viz. that the scope of the *Spirit of God* in this Chapter is to handle the matters of the *second Table* (having handled the matters of the *first*, in the 12.) since the *Magistrates* of whom *Paul* wrote, were naturall, ungodly, persecuting, and yet lawfull *Magistrates*, and to be obeyed in all lawfull *Civill* things.

Since all *Magistrates* are *Gods Ministers*, essentially *civill*, bound

ded

ded to a *civill* work, with *civill weapons* or instruments, and paid or rewarded with *civill* rewards. From all which, I say, I undeniably collect, that this *Scripture* is generally mistaken, and wrested from the scope of Gods Spirit, and the nature of the place, and cannot truly be alleadged by any for the Power of the *Civill Magistrate* to be exercised in *spirituall* and *Soule-matters*.

CHAP. LII.

Peace. Against this I know many object out of the 4. verse of this Chapter, that the *Magistrate* is to avenge or punish *Evill*: from whence is gathered, that *Heresie*, false *Christs*, false *Churches*, false *Ministeries*, false *Seales*, being *evill*, ought to be punished *Civilly*, &c.

What. is to b
understood b
Evill, Rom. 13
4.

Truth. I answer, that the word *evill* is generally opposed to *Civill Goodnesse* or *Virtue* in a *Common-wealth*, and not to *Spirituall Good* or *Religion* in the *Church*.

Secondly, I have proved from the scope of the place, that here is not intended *Evill* against the *Spirituall* or *Christian Estate*, handled in the 12 Chap. but *Evill* against the *Civill State*, in this 13. properly falling under the cognizance of the *Civill Minister* of God, the *Magistrate*, and punishable by that *civill sword* of his, as an *incivillitie*, *disorder*, or breach of that *civill order*, *peace* and *civility*, unto which all the Inhabitants of a *City*, *Town*, or *Kingdome* oblige themselves.

Peace. I have heard that the *Elders* of the *New-English Churches*, (who yet out of this 13 *Rom.* maintaine Persecution) grant that the *Magistrate* is to preserve the *peace* and welfare of the *State*, and therefore that he ought not to punish such sinnes as hurt not his *peace*. In particular, they say, the *Magistrate* may not punish *secret sinnes* in the *Soule*: Nor such sinnes as are yet handling in the *Church* in a *private* way: Nor such sinnes which are private in *Families*; and therefore they say, the *Magistrate* transgresseth to prosecute complaints of *children* against their *parents*, *servants* against *masters*, *wives* against *husbands*, (and yet this proper to the *Civill State*) Nor such sinnes as are between the *Members* and *Churches* themselves.

And they confesse, that if the *Magistrate* punish, and the *Church* punish, there will be a greater *Rent* in their *Peace*.

Some give to the Magistrate what is not his, and take from him that which is proper to him.

Truth. From thence (sweet *Peace*) may we well observe, First, the *Magistrate* is not to punish all *Evill*, according to this their *confession*.

The distinction of *private* and *publike Evill* will not here avail; because such as urge that terme *Evill*, viz. that the *Magistrate* is to punish *Evill*, urge it strictly, *eo nomine*, because *Hereſie*, *Blasphemie*, *false Church*, *false Miniſterie* is *evill*, as well as Disorder in a *Civill State*.

Secondly, I observe, how they take away from the *Magistrate* that which is proper to his cognifance, as the complaints of *ſervants*, *children*, *wives*, againſt their *parents*, *maſters*, *husbands*, &c. (*Families* as *families*, being as *ſtones* which make up the common building, and are properly the object of the *Magiſtrates* care, in reſpect of *Civill Government*, *Civill order* and *obedience*.)

CHAP. LIV.

Peace. I Pray now (laſtly) proceed to the *Authours* Reason why *Chriſts* Diſciples ſhould be ſo far from perſecuting, that they ought to bleſſe them that curſe them, and pray for them that perſecute them, becauſe of the *freeneſſe* of *Gods* grace, and the *deepeſſe* of his *Councels*, calling them that are *Enemies*, *Perſecutors*, *No people*, to become *mecke Lambes*, the *ſheep* and *people* of *God*, according to 1 *Pet.* 2. 20. You which were not a *people*, are now a *people*, &c. and *Matth.* 20. 6. Some come at the *laſt houre*, which if they were cut off becauſe they came not *ſooner*; would be prevented, and ſo ſhould *never* come.

Unto this Reason the *Answerer* is pleaſed thus to reply:

First in general; We muſt not doe *Evill*, that *Good* may come thereof.

Secondly, in particular, he affirmeth, "that it is *evill* to tolerate *ſeditious evill doers*, *ſeducing Teachers*, *ſcandalous livers*; and for proof of this he quotes *Chriſts* reproofe to the *Angel* of the *Church* "at *Pergamum*, for tolerating them that hold the doctrine of *Balaam*; "and againſt the *Church* of *Thiatyra*, for tolerating *Jeſabel* to reach "and ſeduce, *Revel.* 2. 14. 20.

Truth. I answer, fiſt, by aſſenting to the generall Propoſition, that it is moſt true, like unto *Chriſt Jeſus* himſelfe, a ſure foundation, 1 *Cor.* 3. Yet what is built upon it, I hope (by *Gods* aſſiſtance) to make

Toleration diſcuſſed. Upon this, point hath Mr. John Goodwin excellent. ly of late diſcourſed.

make it appeare is but *hay and stubble, dead and withered*, not suiting that *golden foundation*, nor pleasing to the Father of mercies, nor comfortable to the Soules of men.

It is *evill* (saith he) to tolerate notorious evill doers, seducing Teachers, scandalous livers.

In which speech I observe 2 evils :

First that this *Proposition* is too large and generall, because the *Rule* admits of *exception*, and that according to the will of God.

1. It is true, that *Evill* cannot alter its nature, but it is alway *Evill*, as darknesse is alway darknesse, yet

2. It must be remembred, that it is one thing to *command*, to *conceale*, to *councell*, to *approve Evill*, and another thing to *permit* and *suffer Evill* with *protestation* against it, or *dislike* of it, at least without approbation of it. Evill is always Evill, yet permission of it may in case be good.

Lastly, this *sufferance* or *permission* of *Evill* is not for its own sake, but for the sake of *Good*, which puts a respect of *Goodnesse* upon such *permission*.

Hence it is, that for *Gods owne Glorie* sake (which is the highest Good) he endures, that is, *permits* or *suffers* the *Vessels of Wrath*, Gods wonderfull toleration.
Rom. 9. And therefore although he be of pure eyes, and can behold no iniquitie, yet his pure eyes patiently and quietly beholds and permits all the *idolatries* and *prophanations*, all the *thefts* and *rapines*, all the *whoredomes* and *abominations*, all the *murthers* and *poysenings*; and yet I say, for his *glory* sake he is patient, and long permits.

Hence for his peoples sake (which is the next Good in his Son) he is oftentimes pleased to permit and suffer the wicked to enjoy a longer *reprove*. Therefore he gave *Paul* all the *lives* that were in the ship; *Acts 27.*

Therefore he would not so soone have destroyed *Sodome*, but granted a longer *permission*, had there been but 10 righteous, *Gen. 19.* Therefore, *Jerem. 5.* had he found some to have stood in the gap, he would have spared others. Therefore gave he *Jesabel* a time or space; *Revel. 2.*

Therefore for his *Glory* sake hath he permitted longer *great sinners*, who afterward have perished in their season, as we see in the case of *Ahab*, the *Ninevites* and *Amorites, &c.*

Hence it pleased the Lord not onely to permit the many *evills* Deut. 24. against his owne honourable ordinance of *Marriage* in the world, but was pleased after a wonderfull manner to suffer that sin of many

wives in *Abraham, Jacob, David, Salomon*, yea with some expression which seeme to give approbation, as 2 Sam. 12.

Peace. It may be said, this is no patterne for us, because *God* is above Law, and an absolute *Soveraigne*.

Truth. I answer, although wee finde him sometime dispensing with his Law, yet we never finde him deny himselfe, or utter a *falsehood*: And therefore when it crosseth not an absolute *Rule* to permit and tolerate (as in the case of the permission of the *soules* and *consciencs* of all men in the world, I have shewne and shall shew further it doth not) it will not hinder our being *holy* as hee is holy in all manner of conversation.

CHAP. LIV.

Peace. I will yet bee said, it pleaseth *God* to permit *Adulteries, Murthers, Poisons*: *God* suffers men like *fishes* to devour each other, *Habac. 1.* the *wicked* to flourish, *Ier. 12.* yea sends the *Tyrants* of the world to destroy the *Nations*, and plunder them of their riches, *Isa. 10.* Should men doe so, the world would be a *Wildernesse*, and beside we have command for *zealous execution* of Justice impartially, speedily.

Two sorts of
commands
both by *Moses*
and *Christ*.

Truth. I answer, we finde two sorts of *commands* both from *Moses* and from *Christ*, the two great Prophets and Messengers from the living *God*, the one the type or figure of the later: *Moses* gave positive *Rules* both *spirituall* and *civill*, yet also hee gave some not positive but *permissive* for the common good: So the Lord *Iesus* expoundeth it.

For, whereas the *Pharises* urged it, that *Moses* commanded to give a *Bill of Divorcement* and to put away: the Lord *Iesus* expoundeth it, *Moses* for the hardnesse of your heart suffered or permitted,

Math 16. 17.
18.

The permissi-
on of divorce
in *Israel*.

Math. 19. 17, 18. This was a *permissive command* universall to all *Israel*, for a general good, in preventing the continuall fires of *Dissentions & Combustions* in families (yea it may be *Murthers, Poysons, Adulteries* which that people (as the wisdom of *God* foresaw) was apt out of the hardnesse of their heart to breake out into, were it not for this preventing permission.

Hence it was that for a further *publike good* sake, and the publike safety, *David* permitted *Ioab*, a notorious malefactor, and *Shimei*
and

and *Adonijah, &c.* And *civill States* and *Governours* in like cases have and doe permit and suffer what neither *David* nor any *civill Governour* ought to doe or have done, were it not to prevent the hazard of the *whole*, in the shedding of much *innocent blood* (together with the *nocent*) in *civill combustions*.

Peace. It may be said, *Toab, Shimei, Adonijah, &c.* were only (as it were) reprieved for a time, and proves only that a season ought to be attended for their punishment.

Truth. *Ans.* I answer, I produce not these instances to prove a permission of *Tares* (*Antichristians, Heretikes*) which other *Scriptures* abundantly prove, but to make it cleare (against the *Answers* allegation, that even in the *civill State* permission of notorious *evill doers*, even against the *civill State*, is not disapproved by *God* himselfe, and the wisest of his servants in its season.

CHAP. LV.

Truth. Proceed: Hence it is that some *Generals of Armies*, and *Governours of Cities, Townes, &c.* doe, and (as those former instances prove) lawfully permit some *evill persons* and practices: As for instance, in the *civill State*, *Usury*, for the preventing of a greater *evill* in the *civill Body*, as *stealing, robbing, murdering, perishing* of the poore, and the hindrance or itop of *commerce* and dealing in the *Commonwealth*. Just like *Physicians*, wisely permitting noysome *humours*, and sometimes *diseases*, when the cure or purging would prove more dangerous to the destruction of the *whole*, a *weake* or *crazy* body, and specially at such a time.

Thus in many other instances it pleased the *Father of lights*, the *God of Israel*, to permit that people, especially in the matter of their demand of a *King*, (wherein he pleaded that himselfe as well as *Samuel* was rejected.)

This ground, to wit, for a *common good* of the *whole*, is the same with that of the *Lord Jesus* commanding the *Tares* to be permitted in the *World*, because otherwise the *good wheat* should be indangered to be rooted up out of the *Field* or *World* also, as well as the *Tares*: and therefore for the good sake the *Tares*, which are indeed *evill*, were to be permitted: Yea and for the generall good of the *whole world*, the field it selfe, which for want of this obedience to that command of *Christ*, hath beene and is laid waste and desolate, with the fury

Usurie in a Commonweale or Civill State lawfully permitted.

Permission of the Tares in the field of the world for a twofold good.
1. Of the good Wheat.
2. Of the whole world, the field it selfe.

and rage of *civill War*, professedly raised and maintained (as all States professe for the maintenance of one *true Religion* (after the patterne of that typicall land of *Canaan*) and to suppress and pluck up these Tares of *false Prophets* and false Professors, *Antichristian Hereticks*, &c. out of the world:

Hence illa *lachryma*: hence *Germanies*, *Irelands*, and now *Englands* teares and dreadfull desolations, which ought to have beene and may bee for the future (by obedience to the command of the Lord *Iesus*, concerning the permission of Tares to live in the world though not in the *Church*) I say ought to have beene, and may be mercifully prevented.

CHAP. LVI.

Peace. I Pray descend now to the second *evill* which you observe in the *Answerers position*, viz. that it would bee *evill* to tolerate notorious *evill doers*, *seducing teachers*, &c.

Truth. I say, the *evill* is, that he most improperly and confusedly joynes and couples *seducing teachers* with *scandalous livers*.

Peace. But is it not true that the world is full of *seducing teachers*, and is it not true that *seducing teachers* are *notorious evill doers*?

Truth. I answer: far be it from me to deny either; and yet in two things I shall discover the great *evill* of this joyning and coupling *seducing teachers*, and *scandalous livers* as one adequate or proper object of the Magistrates care and worke to suppress and punish.

First, it is not an *Homogeneall* (as we speake) but an *Heterogeneall* commixture or joyning together of things most different in kinds and natures, as if they were both of one consideration.

For who knowes not but that many *seducing teachers*, either of the *Paganish*, *Iewish*, *Turkish*, or *Antichristian Religion*, may be clear and free from *scandalous offences* in their life, as also from *disobedience* to the *Civill Lawes* of a State? Yea the *Answerer* himselfe hath elsewhere granted, that if the *Lawes* of a *Civill State* be not broken, the *Peace* is not broken.

Againe, who knowes not that a *seducing teacher* properly sinnes against a *Church* or *Spiritual estate* and *Lawes* of it, and therefore ought most properly and onely to bee dealt withall in such a way, and by such weapons as the Lord *Iesus* himselfe hath appointed

Seducing teachers, either Pagan, Jewish or Antichristian, may yet be obedient Subjects to the Civill lawes.

ainfayers, opposites and disobedients (either within his Church or without) to be convinced, repelled, resisted, and slaine withall.

Whereas scandalous offenders against Parents, against Magistrates in the 5 Commandment and so against the life, chastity, goods or good name in the rest, is properly transgression against the Civill State and Commonweale, or the worldly State of Men: And therefore consequently if the World or Civill State ought to be preferred by Civill Government or Governours; such scandalous offenders ought not to be tolerated; but suppressed according to the wisdom and prudence of the said Government.

Secondly, as there is a fallacious conjoyning and confounding together persons of severall kindes and natures, differing as much as Spirit and Flesh, Heaven and Earth each from other. So is there a silent and implicate justification to all the unrighteous and cruell proceedings of Jews and Gentiles against all the Prophets of God, the Lord Jesus himselfe; and all His Messengers and Witnesses, whom their Accusers have ever so coupled and mixed with notorious evil-doers and scandalous livers.

Elijah was a troubler of the State; Jeremy weakened the hand of the people: yea Moses made the people neglect their worke: the Jewes built the Rebellious and bad City: the three Worthies regarded not the command of the King: Christ Jesus deceived the people, was a conjurer and a traitor against Caesar in being King of the Jewes (indeed He was so) spiritually over the true Jew the Christian: therefore He was numbred with notorious evil-doers, and hanged to the Gallows between two Malefactours.

Hence Paul and all true Messengers of Jesus Christ are esteemed seducing and seditious teachers and turners of the World upside downe: Yea and to my knowledge (I speake with honourable respect to the Answerer, so far as he hath laboured for many Truths of Christ) the Answerer himselfe hath drunke of this cup to be esteemed a seducing Teacher.

CHAP. LVII.

Yea but he produceth Scriptures against such toleration, and for persecuting men for the cause of conscience: Christ (saith he) had something against the Angel of the Church of Pergamus for tolerating them that held the doctrine of Balaam, and

Scandalous livers against the Civill State who they are.

Mr. Cottons tenent justifies all the cruell proceedings against Christ and christians.

"and against the Church of *Thiatiara* for tolerating *Iesabel* to teach
"and seduce, *Rev. 2. 14. 20.*

Truth. I may answer with some admiration and astonishment how it pleased the *Father of lights*, and most jealous God to darken and vaile the eye of so pretious a man, as not to seek out and propose some Scriptures (in the prooffe of so weighty an assertion) as at least might have some colour for an influence of the Civill Magistrate in such cases: for

Toleration.
Rev. 2. 14. 20.
examined.

First, he saith not that Christ had ought against the City *Pergamus*, (where Sathan had his throne *Rev. 2.*) but against the Church at *Pergamus*, in which was set up the Throne of Christ.

Secondly, Christs Charge is not against the Civill Magistrate of *Pergamus*, but the Messenger or Ministry of the Church in *Pergamus*.

Thirdly, I confesse so far as *Balaams* or *Iesabels* doctrine maintained a liberty of *corporall fornication*, it concerned the City of *Pergamus* and *Thiatiara*, and the *Angel* or *Officers* of those Cities to suppress not only such practices, but such *Doctrines* also, as the *Roman Emperour* justly punished *Ovid* the Poet, for teaching the wanton Art of Love, leading to and ushering on *luciviousnesse* and *uncleanesse*.

4. Yet so far as *Balaams* teachers or *Iesabel* did seduce the members of the Church in *Pergamus* or *Thiatiara*, to the worship of the *Idolaters* in *Pergamus* or *Thiatiara* (which will appeare to be the case) I say so far I may well and properly answer, as himselfe answered before those Scriptures, brought from *Luc. 9.* & *2 Tim. 2.* to prove patience and permission to men opposite, viz. "These Scriptures" (saith he) are *directions* to *Ministers* of the Gospel, and in the "end of that passage he addes, Much lesse doe they speake at all to "*Civill Magistrates*.

Fifthly, Either these Churches and the *Angels* thereof had power to suppress these doctrines of *Balaam*; and to suppress *Iesabel* from teaching, or they had not:

Christ Mini-
sters & Churches have power sufficient from Christ to suppress *Balaam* and *Iesabel* seducing to false worship.

That they had not cannot be affirmed, for Christs Authority is in the hands of his *Ministers* and Churches, *Matth. 16.* & *18.* & *1 Cor. 5.*

If they had power, as must be granted, then I conclude sufficient power to suppress such persons, who ever they were that maintained *Balaams* doctrine in the Church at *Pergamus*, although the very

ry *Magistrates* themselves of the City of *Pergamus*, (if Christians) and to have suppressed *Iesabel* from teaching and seducing in the Church had she been *Lady*, *Queen*, or *Empresse*, if there were no more but teaching without hostility: And it so, all power and authority of *Magistrates* and *Governours* of *Pergamus* and *Thiatira*, and all submitting or appealing to them, in such cases, must needs fall as none of *Christs* appointment.

Lastly, From this perverse wresting of what is writ to the Church and the Officers thereof, as if it were written to the *Civill State* and Officers thereof; all may see how since the *Apostacie* of *Antichrist*, the *Christian World* (so called) hath swallowed up *Christianity*, how the Church and *civill State*, that is the Church and the World are now become one flocke of *Iesus Christ*; *Christs* *sheepe*, and the *Pastors* or *Shepherds* of them, all one with the severall unconverted, wilde or tame Beasts and Cattell of the World and the *civill* and earthly *governours* of them: The *Christian Church* or *Kingdome* of the Saints, that stone cut out of the mountaine without hands, *Daniel* 2. now made all one with the mountaine or *Civill State*, the *Roman Empire*, from whence it is cut or taken: *Christs* *lilies*, garden and love, all one with the thornes, the daughers and wildernesse of the World, out of which the Spouse or Church of *Christ* is called, and amongst whom in *civill things* for a while here below, she must necessarily be mingled and have converse, unlesse she will goe out of the World (before *Christ Iesus* her Lord and Husband send for her home into the Heavens, *1 Cor.* 5. 10.)

The Christian world hath swallowed up Christianity.

CHAP. LVIII.

Peace. **H**AVING thus (by the help of *Christ*) examined thole *Scriptures* or writings of truth, brought by the Author against *Persecution*, and cleared them from such vailles & mists wherewith *Mr. Cotton* hath endeavored to obscure & darken their light: I pray you now (by the the same gracious assistance) proceed to his answer to the second head of Reasons from the profession of famous *Princes* against persecution for conscience, *K. James*, *Steven* of *Poland*, *K. of Bohemia*, unto whom the Answerer returneth a treble answer.

"First, saith he, We willingly acknowledge that none is to be persecuted at all no more then they may be oppressed for righteousness sake.

The second head of Reasons against such persecution, viz. the profession of famous Princes, *K. James*, *Steven* of *Poland*, and *K. of Bohemia*,

N

"Againe,

“Again, we acknowledge that none is to be punished for his conscience though misinformed (as hath been said) unless his Error be *fundamentall* or *seditionously* and *turbulently* promoted, and that after due *conviction* of his conscience, that it may appeare he is not punished for his conscience, but for sinning against his conscience.

“Furthermore, we acknowledge none is to be constrained to believe or profess the true Religion, till he be convinced in judgement of the truth of it, but yet restrained he may be from blaspheming the truth, and from seducing any unto pernicious error.

Truth. This first answer consists of a repetition and enumeration of such grounds or conclusions, as Mr. Cotton in the entrance of this Discourse laid downe, and I beleeveth (through the helpe of God) in such replies as I have made unto them, I have made it evident what weak foundations they have in the Scriptures of truth; as also that, when such conclusions (excepting the first) as *grasse*, and the *flower* of the *grasse* shall fade, that holy Word of the Lord, which the Author against such persecution produced, and I have cleared, shall stand for ever, even when these Heavens and Earth are burnt.

Peace. His second answer is this: “What Princes profess and practice is not a rule of conscience: They many times tolerate that in point of *State-politic*, which cannot justly be tolerated in point of true Christianity.

“Again, Princes many times tolerate offenders out of very necessity, when the offenders are either too many or too mighty for them to punish, in which respect *David* tolerated *Joab* and his murders, but against his will. SAND

CHAP. LIX.

Unto those excellent and famous speeches of those Princes worthy to be written in *golden letters* or *rows* of *Diamonds* upon all the gates of all the Cities and Palaces in the World, the Answerer (without any particular reply) returns two things.

Truth. First, that Princes profession and practice is no rule of conscience: unto this as all men will subscribe, so may they also observe how the Answerer deals with Princes.

One while they are the nursing Fathers of the Church, not only to feed, but also to correct, and therefore consequently bound to judge.

Isa. 40 6.
2 Pet. 2.

Mr. Cottons
unequall dealing with
Princes.

judge what is true *feeding* and *correlling* : and consequently all *mē* are bound to submit to their *feeding* and *correlling*.

Another while, when Princes crosse Mr. *Cottons* judgement and practice, then it matters not what the *profession* and *practice* of Princes is ; for (saith he) their *profession* and *practice* is no Rule to *Conscience*.

I aske then, unto what *Magistrates* or *Princes* will themselves or any so perswaded submit, as unto *keepers* of both *Tables*, as unto the *Antitypes* of the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judab*, and nursing *Fathers* and *Mothers* of the *Church* ?

First, will it not evidently follow, that by these Tenents they ought not to submit to any *Magistrates* in the world in these cases, but to *Magistrates* just of their owne *conscience* : and

Secondly, that all other *Consciences* in the world (except their owne) must be persecuted by such their *Magistrates* ?

And lastly, is not this to make *Magistrates* but *steps* and *stirrops* to ascend and mount up into their *rich* and *honourable Seats* and *Saddles* ; I meane great and settled maintenances, which neither the *Lord Jesus*, nor any of his first *Messengers*, the true *patternes*, did ever know ?

CHAP. LX.

Truth. IN the second place hee saith that *Princes* out of *State policy* tolerate what suits not with *Christianity*, and out of *State necessity* tolerate (as *David* did *Joab*) against their wils.

To which I answer,

First, that although with him in the first I confesse that *Princes* may tolerate that out of *State policy* which will not stand with *Christianity*, yet in the second he must acknowledge with me, that there is a *necessity* sometime of *State Toleration*, as in the case of *Joab*, and so his former affirmation generally laid downe [*viz.* that it is evill to tolerate *seducing Teachers*, or *scandalous livers*] was not duly waighed in the *Balance* of the *Sanctuary*, and is too light.

Secondly, I affirme that that *State policy* and *State necessity*, which (for the peace of the *State* and preventing of *Rivers of civill Blood*) permits the *Consciences* of men, will bee found to agree most punctually with the *Rules* of the best *Politician* that ever the world saw, the *King of Kings*, and *Lord of Lords*, in comparison of whom

The Answerer acknowledgeth a necessity of some toleration.

Christ Jesus the deepest politician that ever was, and yet he commands a toleration of An-christians.

Salomon himselfe had but a drop of wisdom, compared to Christs Ocean, and was but a Farthing Candle compared with the All and Ever glorious Son of Righteousnesse.

That absolute Rule of this great Politician for the peace of the Field, which is the World, and for the good and peace of the Saints, who must have a civill being in the World, I have discoursed of in his command of permitting the Tares, that is, Antichristians or false Christians to be in the Field of the World, growing up together with the true Wheat, true Christians.

CHAP. LXI.

Peace. **H**Is third Answer is this :

“ For those three Princes named by you who tolerated Religion, we can name you more and greater who have not tolerated Heretickes and Schismatickes, notwithstanding their pretence of Conscience, and their arrogating the Crowne of Martyrdom to their sufferings.

“ Constantine the Great at the request of the Generall Councell at Nice, banished Arrius, with some of his Fellowes, Sozom. lib. 1. Eccles. hist. cap. 19 20.

“ The same Constantine made a severe Law against the Donatists: and the like proceedings against them were used by Valentinian, Gratian, and Theodosius, as Augustine reports in Ep. 166. Onely Julian the Apostate granted liberty to Heretickes, as well as to Pagans, that he might by tolerating all weeds to grow, choake the vitals of Christianity: which was also the practice and sinne of Valens the Arrian.

“ Queene Elizabeth, as famous for her Government as most of the former, it is well knowne what Lawes she made and executed against Papists: yea and K. James (one of your owne Witnesses) though he was slow in proceeding against Papists (as you say) for Conscience sake, yet you are not ignorant how sharply and severely he punished those whom the malignant World calls Puritans, men of more Conscience and better Faith then the Papists whom he tolerated.

Truth. Unto this I answer: First, that for mine owne part I would not use an argument from the number of Princes, witnessing in profession of practice against Persecution for cause of Conscience,

for

for the truth and faith of the Lord Jesus must not be received with respect of faces, be they never so high, princely and glorious.

Precious Pearles and Jewels, and farre more precious Truth are found in muddy shells and places. The rich Mines of golden Truth lie hid under barren hills, and in obscure holes and corners.

The most High and Glorious God hath chosen the poore of the World: and the Witneses of Truth (Rev. 11.) are cloathed in sack-cloth, not in Silke or Sattin, Cloth of Gold, or Tissue: and therefore I acknowledge, if the number of Princes professing persecution be considered, it is rare to finde a King, Prince, or Governour like Christ Jesus the King of Kings, and Prince of the Princes of the Earth, and who tread not in the steps of Herod the Fox, or Nero the Lyon, openly or secretly persecuting the name of the Lord Jesus; such were Saul, Ieroboam, Abab, though under a maske or pretence of the name of the God of Israel.

To that purpose was it a noble speech of Buchanan, who lying on his death-bed sent this Item to King James: Remember my humble service to his Majestie, and tell him that Buchanan is going to a place where few Kings come.

The Princes of the world seldome take part with Christ.

Princes not persecuting are very rare.

Buchanans Item to King James.

CHAP. LXII.

Secondly, I observe how inconsiderately (I hope not willingly) he passeth by the Reasons and Grounds urged by those three Princes for their practices: for as for the bare examples of Kings or Princes, they are but like shining Sands, or gilded Rocks, giving no solace to such as make wofull shipwrack on them.

In K. James his Speech he passeth by that Golden Maxime in Divinity, that God never loves to plant his Church by Blood.

Secondly, that Civill Obedience may be performed from the Papists.

Thirdly, in his observation on Revel. 20. that true and certaine note of a false Church, to wit, persecution: The wicked are besiegers, the faithfull are besieged.

In K. Steven of Poland his Speech, hee passeth by the true difference betweene a Civill and a Spirituall Government: I am (saith Steven) a Civill Magistrate over the bodies of men, not a spirituall over their soules.

King James his sayings against persecution.

King Steven of Poland his speech against Persecution.

Forcing of
Conscience is
a Soule rape.

Persecution
for conscience,
the Launce
that letteth
blood Kings
& Kingdomes.

All Spirituall
Whores are
bloody.

Now to confound these, is *Babel*; and Jewish it is to seek for *Moses*, and bring him from his grave (which no man shall finde for God buried him) in setting up a *Nationall state* or *Church* in a land of *Canaan*, which the great *Messiah* abolished at his comming.

Thirdly, he passeth by in the speech of the King of *Bohemia*, that *foundation in Grace and Nature*, to wit, that *Conscience* ought not to be violated or forced: and indeed it is most true, that a *Soule* or *spirituall Rape* is more abominable in *Gods eye*, then to force and ravish the *Bodies* of all the *Women* in the *World*.

Secondly, that most lamentably true *experience* of all *Ages*, which that *King* observeth, viz. that *persecution* for cause of *Conscience* hath ever proved pernicious, being the causes of all those wonderfull *innovations* of, or *changes* in the *Principalities* and mightiest *Kingdomes* of *Christendome*. He that reads the *Records of Truth* and *Time* with an impartiall eye, shall finde this to be the *Launce* that hath pierc'd the *veines* of *Kings* and *Kingdomes*, of *Saints* and *Sinners*, and fill'd the *streames* and *Rivers* with their *blood*.

Lastly, that *Kings* observation of his own time, viz. that *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*, was practised most in *England*, and such places where *Poperie* reigned, implying (as I conceive) that such practises commonly proceed from that great *whore* the *Church of Rome*, whose *Daughters* are like their *Mother*, and all of a *bloody nature*, as most commonly all *Whores* be.

CHAP. LXIII.

Now thirdly, in that the Answerer observeth, that amongst the *Romane Emperours*, they that did not persecute, were *Julian* the *Apostate*, and *Valens* the *Arrian*; whereas the good Emperours, *Constantine*, *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, and *Theodosius*, they did persecute the *Arrians*, *Donatists*, &c.

The Godly
sometimes e-
vill actors, and
the Ungodly
good actors.
Poligamie, or
the many
wives of the
Fathers.

Ans. It is no new thing for godly and eminently godly men, to performe *ungodly actions*: nor for *ungodly* persons, for wicked ends to act what in it selfe is good and righteous.

Abraham, *Iacob*, *David*, *Salomon*, &c. (as well as *Lamech*, *Saul*, &c.) lived in constant transgression against the institution of so holy and so ratified a *Law of Mariage*, &c. and this not against the light and checks of *conscience*, (as other sinnes are wont to be recorded

of them) but according to the dictate and perswasion of a Resolved Soule and Conscience.

David out of zeale to God, with 30 thousand of Israel, and Majestically solemnity, carries up the Arke, contrary to the Order God was pleased to appoint: the issue was both Gods and Davids great offence. 2 Sam. 6.

David in his zeale would build an house to entertaine his God! what more pious? and what more (in shew) seriously consulted, when the Prophet Nathan is admitted Councillour? 2 Sam. 7.

And probable it is, that his slaughter of Uriah was not without a good end, to wit, to prevent the dishonour of Gods name, in the discoverie of his Adulterie with Bathsheba: yet David was holy and precious to God still, (though like a jewell fallen into the dirt) whereas K. Ahab, though acting his fasting & humiliation, was but Ahab still, though his Act (in it selfe) was a duty, and found success with God.

Davids advancing of Gods Worship against Gods Order.

CHAP. LXIV.

Peace.] Have often heard that Historie reports, and I have heard that Mr. Cotton himselfe hath affirmed it, that Christianitie fell asleep in Constantines bolome, and the laps and bosomes of those Emperours professing the name of Christ.

Truth. The unknowing zeale of Constantine and other Emperours, did more hurt to Christ Iesus his Crowne and Kingdome, then the raging fury of the most bloody Neroes. In the persecutions of the latter, Christians were sweet and fragrant, like spice pounded and beaten in morters: But those good Emperours, persecuting some erroneous persons, Arius, &c. and advancing the professors of some Truths of Christ (for there was no small number of Truths lost in those times) and maintaining their Religion by the materiall word, I say by this meanes Christianity was eclipsed, and the professors of it fell asleep, Cant. 5. Babel or confusion was usher'd in; and by degrees the Gardens of the Churches of Saints were turned into the wilderness of whole Nations, untill the whole World became Christian or Christendome, Revel. 12. & 13.

Doubtlesse those holy men, Emperours and Bishops, intended and aimed right, to exalt Christ: but not attending to the Command of Christ Iesus, to permit the Tares to grow in the field of the World, they

Constantine and the good Emperours are content to have done more hurt to the name and crown of the Lord Iesus, then the persecuting Neroes &c.

The Garden of the Church and Field of the World made all one by Antichristianisme.

they made the *Garden of the Church*, and *Field of the World* to be all one; and might not onely sometimes in their zealous mistakes persecute *good wheat* in stead of *Tares*, but also pluck up thousands of those precious *stalkes* by *commotions* and *combustions* about *Religion*, as hath been since practised in the great and wonderfull changes wrought by such *Wars* in many great and mighty States and Kingdomes, as we heard even now in the Observation of the *King of Bohemia*.

CHAP. LXV.

Peace. **D**EARE *Truth*, before you leave this passage concerning the *Emperours*, I shall desire you to glance your eye on this not unworthy observation, to wit, how fully this worthy *Answerer* hath learned to speake the roaring language of *Lyon-like Persecution*, far from the purity and peaceablenesse of the *Lambe*, which he was wont to expresse in *England*. For thus he writes:

“More and greater *Princes* then these you mention (saith he) “have not tolerated *Hereticks* and *Schismaticks*, notwithstanding “their pretence of *Conscience*, and their arrogating the *Crown* “of *Martyrdome* to their *sufferings*.

Truth. Thy tender *eare* and *heart* (sweet *Peace*) endures not such language: ‘Tis true, that these termes, *Hereticks* (or wilfully obstinate) and *Schismaticks* (or *Renders*) are used in Holy Writ: ‘tis true also, that such pretend *conscience*, and challenge the *crowne* of *Martyrdome* to their *sufferings*: Yet since (as *King James* spake in his [Marke of a false Church] on *Revel. 20.*) the Wicked persecute and besiege, and the Godly are persecuted and besieged; this is the common clamour of *Persecuters* against the *Messengers* and *Witnesses* of *Iesus* in all Ages, viz. You are *Hereticks*, *Schismaticks*, *factious*, *seditions*, *rebellious*. Have not all *Truths* witnesses heard such reproaches? You pretend *conscience*; You say you are persecuted for *Religion*; You will say you are *Martyrs*?

The language of Persecuters, the wolves and hunters of the World.

Oh it is hard for *Gods children* to fall to *opinion* and *practice* of *Persecution*, without the ready learning the language thereof: And doubtlesse, that Soule that can so readily speake *Babels* language, hath cause to feare that he hath not yet in point of *Worship* left the *Gates* or *Suburbs* of it.

Peace. Again, in blaming *Inlian* and *Valens* the *Arrian*, for tolerating

“*erating all weeds to grow*, he notes their sinfull end, that thereby
 “they might choake the *vitals* of *Christianity*; and seemes to con-
 “sent. (in this and other passages foregoing and following on a
 “*speech of Jerome*) that the weeds of *false Religions* tolerated in
 “the world, have a power to choake and kill true *Christianity* in
 “the Church.

Truth. I shall more fully answer to this on *Jeromes* speech, and
 shew that if the weeds be kept out of the *Garden* of the *Church*, the
Roses and *Lilies* therein will flourish, notwithstanding that weeds
 abound in the *Field* of the *Civill State*. When *Christianity* began to
 be choaked, it was not when *Christians* lodged in cold *Prisons*, but
 Downe beds of *ease*, and persecuted others, &c.

Christs Lilies
 may flourish
 in his Church;
 notwithstand-
 ing the abund-
 ance of weeds
 (in the world)
 permitted.

CHAP. LXVI.

Peace. HE ends this passage with approbation of *Q. Elizabeth*
 for persecuting the *Papists*, and a reproose to *King James*
 for his persecuting the *Puritans*, &c.

Truth. I answer, it *Queene Elizabeth* according to the *Answer* The persecu-
ers Tenent and *Conscience*, did well to persecute according to her tion of *Queen*
conscience, *King James* did not ill in persecuting according to his: *Elizabeth* and
 For Mr. *Cotton* must grant, that either *King James* was not fit to be *King James*
 a King, had not the essentiall *qualifications* of a King, in not being compared to-
 able rightly to judge who ought to be persecuted, and who not, or gether.
 else he must confesse that *King James* and all *Magistrates* must per-
 secute such whom in their *Conscience* they judge worthy to be per-
 secuted.

I say it againe (though I neither approve *Queen Elizabeth* or *K.*
James in such their persecutions, yet) such as hold this *Tenent* of
 persecuting for *Conscience*, must also hold that *Civill Magistrates*
 are not essentially fitted and qualified for their function and office,
 except they can discern clearly the difference betweene such as
 are to be punished and persecuted, and such as are not.

Or else if they be essentially qualified, without such a religious
 spirit of discerning, and yet must persecute the *Hereticke*, the *Schis-*
maticke, &c. must they not persecute according to their *conscience*
 and perswasion. And then doubtlesse (though he bee excellent for
Civill Government) may he easily, as *Paul* did ignorantly, persecute
 the *Son of God*, in stead of the *Son of perdition*.

There-

Therefore lastly) according to *Christ Jesus* his command, *Magistrates* are bound not to persecute; and to see that none of their subjects be persecuted and oppressed for their *conscience* and *worship*, being otherwise subject and peaceable in *Civill Obedience*.

CHAP. LXVII.

IN the second place I answer and aske, what *glory* to *God*, what *good* to the *soules* or *bodies* of their *subjects* shall *Princes*, did these *Princes* bring in persecuting? &c.

In his opening of the 7. Viols, in print, Mr. Cotton confesseth that Queen Elizabeth her persecuting the Papists, had almost ruined the English Nation.

Peace. Mr. Cotton tells us in his discourse upon the third Viol, that *Queene Elizabeth* had almost fired the world in *civill combustions* by such her persecuting: "For, though hee bring it in to another end, yet he confesseth that it raised all *Christendoms* in *combustion*, raised the *Warres* of 88. and the *Spanish Invasion*: and he addes "(both concerning the *English Nation* and the *Dutch*) that if *God* had not borne witnesse to his people, and their *Laws*, in defeating "the *intendments* of their *enemies* against both the *Nations*, it might "have beene the *ruine* of them both.

Truth. That those *Laws* and *Practices* of *Queene Elizabeth* raised those *combustions* in *Christendome* I deny not: That they might likely have cost the *ruine* of *English* and *Dutch* I grant.

The Wars betweene the Papists and the Protestants,

That it was *Gods* gracious worke in defeating the *Intendments* of their *enemies* I thankfully acknowledge. But that *God* bore witnesse to such *persecutions* and *lawes* for such *persecutions* I deny, for

First, *event* and *success* come alike to all, and are no *Arguments* of *love* or *hatred*, &c

Secondly, the *Papists* in their *wartes* have ever yet had both in *Peace* and *War* *victory* and *dominion*; and therefore (if *success* be the measure) *God* hath borne witnesse unto them:

It is most true what *Daniel* in his 8. and 11. and 12. Chapters, and *Iohn* in his *Revel.* 11. 12. and 13. Chapters write of the great *success* of *Antichrist* against *Christ Jesus* for a time appointed.

Eventus omnis belli incertus

Success was various betweene *Charles* the fifth and some *German Princes*: *Philip* of *Spaine* and the *Low Countries*: The *French King* and his *Protestant Subjects*, sometimes losing, sometimes winning, interchangeably.

But most memorable is the famous history of the *Waldenses* and *Albingeres*, those famous *Witnesses* of *Jesus Christ*, who rising from

Waldo

Waldo at Lyons in France (1160.) spread over France, Italy, Germany, and almost all Countries, into thousands and ten thousands, making separation from the Pope and Church of Rome. These fought many Battels with various successe, and had the assistance and protection of divers great Princes against three succeeding Popes and their Armies, but after mutuall slaughters and miseries to both sides, the finall successe of victory fell to the Popedome and Romish Church in the utter extirpation of those famous Waldensian witnesses.

The wars and successe of the Waldensian witnesses against three Popes and their popish Armies.

Gods servants are all overcommers when they war with Gods weapons in Gods cause and Worship: and Revel. 2. and 3. Chapters, seven times it is recorded, To him that overcommeth in Ephesus, To him that overcommeth in Sardis, &c. and Revel. 12. Gods servants overcame the Dragon or Devill in the Romane Emperours by three weapons, The blood of the Lambe, The word of their Testimony, and The not loving of their lives unto the death.

Gods people victorious overcommers, and with what weapons.

CHAP. LXVIII.

John Carter Brown
Library

Peace. *The Answerer in the next place descends to the third and last Head of Arguments produced by the Author, taken from the judgement of ancient and later Writers, yea even of the Papists themselves, who have condemned persecution for conscience sake: some of which the Answerer pleaseth to answer, and thus writeth.*

The third head of Arguments from ancient and later writers.

“You begin with Hilarie, whose testimony without prejudice to the Truth we may admit: For it is true, the Christian Church doth not persecute, but is persecuted.

The Christian Church doth not persecute, but is persecuted.

“But to excommunicate an Hereticke is not to persecute, that is, it is not to punish an innocent, but a culpable and damnable person, and that not for conscience, but for persisting in error against light of conscience, whereof he hath beene convinced.

Truth. In this Answer here are two things.

First, his confession of the same Truth affirmed by Hilarius, to wit, that the Christian Church doth not persecute, but is persecuted: tuting with that foregoing observation of King James from Rev. 20.

Peace. Yet to this he addes a colour thus: which, saith he, wee may admit without prejudice to the truth.

Truth. I answer, If it bee a marke of the Christian Church to bee persecuted, and of the Antichristian or false Church to persecute, then those Churches cannot be truly Christian (according to the first in-

Persecuting Churches cannot be Christs Churches.

stitution) which either *actually* themselves, or by the *Civill* power of *Kings* and *Princes* given to them (or procured by them to fight for them) doe *persecute* such as dissent from them or be opposite against them.

Peace. Yea, but in the second place he addeth, that to *excommunicate* an *Heretick*, is not to *persecute*, but to punish him for sinning against the light of his own *conscience*, &c.

Truth. I answer, if this worthy *Answerer* were thoroughly awakened from the *Spouses* Spirituall *slumber*, (*Cant. 5.*) and had recovered from the *drunkenesse* of the *great whore*, who intoxicateth the *Nations*, *Revel. 17.* It is impossible that he should so answer: for

The nature of
excommuni-
cation.

First, who questioneth, whether to *excommunicate* an *Heretick*, (that is, an *obstinate Gainsayer*) as we have opened the word upon *Tit. 3.*) I say, who questioneth whether that be to *persecute*? *Excommunication* being of a *spirituall* nature, a *Sentence* denounced by the *Word* of *Christ Jesus* the *Spirituall King* of his *Church*; and a *Spirituall killing* by the most sharpe two-edged *Sword* of the *Spirit*, in delivering up the person *excommunicate* to *Sathan*. Therefore who sees not that his *Answer* comes not neere our *Question*?

Peace. In the *Answerers* second *conclusion* (in the entrance of this *Discourse*) he proves *persecution* against an *Heretick* for sinning against his *conscience*, and quotes *Tit. 3. 10.* which only proves (as I have there made it evident) a *Spirituall* *rejection* or *excommunicating* from the *Church* of *God*, and so comes not neer the question.

What persecu-
tion or hun-
ging is.

Here again he would prove *Churches* charged to be false, because they *persecute*: I say he would prove them not to be false, because they *persecute* not: for, saith he, *Excommunication* is not *Persecution*. Whereas the *Question* is (as the whole *discourse*, and *Hilaries* own amplification of the matter in this speech, and the *practice* of all *Ages* testifies) whether it be not a false *Church* that doth *persecute* other *Churches* or *Members* (opposing her in *Spirituall* and *Church* matters) not by *Excommunications*, but by *imprisonments*, *stocking*, *whipping*, *fining*, *banishing*, *hanging*, *burning*, &c. notwithstanding that such persons in *Civill* obedience and subjection are unprovable.

Christs Spouse
no scratcher or
fighter.

Truth. I conclude this passage with *Hilarius* and the *Answerer*, That the *Christian Church* doth not *persecute*; no more then a *Lilie* doth scratch the *Thornes*, or a *Lambe* pursue and teare the *wolves*, or a *Turtle dove* hunt the *Hawkes* and *Eagles*, or a *chaste and modest*

Virgin

Virgin fight and scratch like whores and harlots.

And for punishing the *Heretick* for sinning against his conscience after conviction, which in the second conclusion he affirmeth to be by a *civill sword* I have at large there answered.

CHAP. LXIX.

Peace. IN the next place he selecteth one passage out of *Hilarie*, (although there are many golden passages there exprest against the use of *Civill* Earthly Powers in the Affaires of *Christ*.) The passage is this:

“It is true also what he saith, that neither the *Apostles* nor We may propagate *Christian Religion* by the *Sword*: but if *Pagans* cannot be won by the *Word*, they are not to be compelled by the *Sword*: Nevertheless this hindreth not (saith he) but if they or any other should blaspheme the true *God* and his true *Religion*, they ought to be severely punished: and no lesse doe they deserve, if they seduce from the *Truth* to damnable *Heretic* or *Idolatrie*.
Who cannot be won by the Word, must not be compelled by the Sword.

Truth. In which Answer I observe, first his Agreement with *Hilarie*, that the *Christian Religion* may not be propagated by the *Civill Sword*.

Unto which I reply, and aske then what meanes this passage in his first answer to the former speeches of the *Kings*, viz. “We acknowledge that none is to be constrained to beleieve or professe the true *Religion*, till he be convinced in judgement of the *Truth* of it: implying 2 things.

First, that the *Civill Magistrate*, who is to constrain with the *Civill Sword*, must judge all the *Consciences* of their Subjects, whether they be convinced or no.

Secondly, when the *Civill Magistrate* discerns that his Subjects consciences are convinced, then he may constrain them *vi & armis*, hostily.

And accordingly, the *Civill State* and *Magistracie* judging in *spirituall things*, who knowes not what constraint lies upon all consciences in *Old and New England*, so come to Church, and pay *Church duties*, which is upon the point (though with a *word* of a finer gilt and trim in *New England*) nothing else but that which he confesseth *Hilarie* saith true, should not be done, to wit, a propagation of *Religion* by the *Sword*.
Constraint upon Consciences in Old and New England.

Againe, although he confesseth that *propagation of Religion* ought not to be by the sword: yet he maintaineth the use of the sword when persons (in the judgement of the *Civill State*, for that is implied) *blaspheme* the true God, and the true Religion, and also seduce others to damnable *Herese* and *Idolatrie*. Which because he barely affirmeth in this place, I shall defer my Answer unto the after Reasons of Mr Cotton and the Elders of New English Churches; where Scriptures are alleadged, and in that place (by Gods assistance) they shall be examined and answered.

CHAP. LXX.

Tertullian his
speech discus-
sed.

Peace. **T**HE Answerer thus proceeds: "Your next Writer is "*Tertullian*, who speaketh to the same purpose in the "place alleadged by you. His intent is only to reſtraine *Scapula* "the Roman Governour of *Africa*, from persecuting the *Christi-* "ans, for not offering sacrifice to their Gods: and for that end, "fetcheth an Argument from the Law of *Naturall equity*, nor to "compell any to any Religion, but permit them to believe or not "to believe at all.

"Which we acknowledge; and accordingly we judge, the "English may permit the *Indians* to continue in their unbelieve: ne- "verthelesse it will not therefore be lawfull to tolerate the worship "of *Devils* or *Idols*; to the seduction of any from the Truth.

Truth. Answ. In this passage he agrees with *Tertullian*, and gives instance in *America* of the English permitting the *Indians* to continue in their unbelieve: yet withall he affirmeth it not lawfull to tolerate worshipping of *Devils*, or seduction from the Truth.

I answer, that in *New England* it is well known that they not onely permit the *Indians* to continue in their unbelieve, (which neither they, nor all the *Ministers of Christ* on Earth, nor *Angels* in Heaven can helpe, not being able to worke beleefe) but they also permit or tolerate them in their *Paganish worship*, which cannot be denied to be a worshipping of *Devils*, as all false Worship is.

And therefore consequently according to the same practice, did they walke by Rule and impartially, not onely the *Indians*, but their Countrymen, *French*, *Dutch*, *Spanish*, *Persians*, *Turkes*, *Jewes*, &c. should also be permitted in their *Worships*, if correspondent in civill obedience.

The *Indians* of *New England* permitted by the English not only to continue in their unbelieve (which they cannot cure) but also in their false worship which they might by the civil sword reſtraine.

Peace.

Peate. He addes further, when *Tertullian* saith, That another mans *Religion* neither hurte nor profiteth any; It must be understood of *private worship* and *Religion* professed in private: otherwise a false *Religion* professed by the members of the *Church*, or by such as have given their *names* to *Christ*, will be the ruine and desolation of the *Church*, as appeareth by the threats of *Christ* to the *Churches*, *Revel. 2.*

Truth. I answer (passing by that unsound distinction of members of the *Church*, or those that have given their *Names* to *Christ*, which in point of visible *profession* and *Worship* will appeare to be all one) it is plaine;

First, that *Tertullian* doth not there speake of private, but of publicke *Worship* and *Religion*.

Secondly, Although it be true in a *Church* of *Christ*, that a false *Religion* or *Worship* permitted, will hurt, according to those threats of *Christ*, *Revel. 2.* Yet in a cases I believe a false *Religion* will not hurt (which is most like to have been *Tertullians* meaning.)

First, a false *Religion* out of the *Church* will not hurt the *Church*, no more then *weedes* in the *Wildernesse* hurt the inclosed *Garden*, or *noyson* hurt the *body* when it is not touched or taken, yea and *antidotes* are received against it.

Secondly, a false *Religion* and *Worship* will not hurt the *Civill State*, in case the worshippers breake no *civill Law*: and the *Answer* (elsewhere) acknowledgeth, that the *civill Lawes* not being broken, *civill Peace* is not broken: and this only is the Point in Question.

In 2 cases a false Religion will not hurt the true Church, or the State.

CHAP. LXXI.

Peate. Your next Authour (saith he) *Jerome*, crosseth not the Truth, nor advantagerh your Cause; for we grant what he saith, that Heresie must be cut off with the sword of the Spirit: but this hinders not, but being so cut down, if the Heretick will persist in his Heresie, to the seduction of others, he may be cut off also by the Civill Sword, to prevent the perdition of others. And that to be *Jeromes* meaning, appeareth by his note upon that of the Apostle, [A little Leaven leaveneth the whole lump] There fore (saith he) a sparke as soon as it appeareth, is to be extinguished, and the leaven to be removed from the rest of the

The seducing or infecting of others discussed.

“dough;

"dough; Rotten pieces of flesh are to be cut off, and a scabbed
 "beast is to be driven from the sheeppold; lest the whole House,
 "Body, masse of Dough, and Flock, be set on fire with the sparke,
 "be putrified with the rotten flesh, sowed with the leaven, perish
 "by the scabbed beast.

The Answerer
 trusteth not
 to the sword
 of the Spirit
 only in Spirituall
 causes.

Truth. I answer, first, he granteth to *Tertullian*, that *Herese* must be cut off with the sword of the Spirit: yet withall he maintaineth a cutting off by a second Sword, the sword of the *Magistrate*; and conceiveth that *Tertullian* so meanes, because he quoteth that of the Apostle, *A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump.*

Ans. It is no Argument to prove that *Tertullian* meant a civil sword, by alleadging 1 Cor. 5. or Gal. 5: which properly and only approve a cutting off by the sword of the Spirit in the Church, and the purging out of the leaven in the Church in the Cities of Corinth and Galatia.

And if *Tertullian* should so meane as himselfe doth, yet

The absolute
 sufficiencie of
 the sword of
 the Spirit,

First, that grant of his, that *Herese* must be cut off with the sword of the Spirit, implies an absolute sufficiencie in the sword of the Spirit to cut it down, according to that mighty operation of Spirituall weapons, (2 Cor. 10. 4.) powerfully sufficient either to convert the Heretick to God, and subdue his very thoughts into subjection to Christ, or else spiritually to slay and execute him.

The Church
 of Christ to
 be kept pure.

Secondly, it is cleare to be the meaning of the Apostle, and of the Spirit of God, not there to speake to the Church in Corinth or Galatia, or any other Church, concerning any other dough, or house, or body, or flock, but the dough, the body, the house, the flock of Christ his Church: Out of which such sparks, such leaven, such rotten flesh and scabbed sheep are to be avoided.

A Nationall
 Church not
 instituted by
 Christ Jesus.

Nor could the eye of this worthy Answerer ever be so obscured, as to run to a Smiths shop for a sword of iron and steale to helpe the sword of the Spirit, if the Sun of Righteousnesse had once been pleased to shew him, that a Nationall Church (which elsewhere he professeth against) a state Church (whether explicate, as in Old England, or implicate, as in New) is not the Institution of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The nationall
 Church of the
 Jewes.

The Nationall typicall State Church of the Jewes necessarily called for such weapons: but the particular Churches of Christ in all parts of the World, consisting of Jewes or Gentiles, is powerfully able by the sword of the Spirit to defend it selfe, and offend Men or Devils, although the State or Kingdome (wherein such a Church or Churches

of *Christ* are gathered) have neither carnall *speare* nor *sword*, &c. as once it was in the *National Church* of the *Land of Canaan*.

1 Sam. 13.

CHAP. LXXII.

Peace. *Brentius* (whom you next quote, saith he) speaketh not to your cause. Wee willingly grant you, that man hath no power to make *Lawes* to binde *conscience*, but this hinders not, but men may see the *Lawes* of God observed which doe binde *conscience*.

Man hath no power to make lawes to binde conscience.

Truth. I answer, In granting with *Brentius* that man hath not power to make *Lawes* to binde *conscience*, hee overthrowes such his tenent and practice as restraine men from their *Worship*, according to their *Conscience* and beleefe, and constraineth them to such *worships* (though it bee out of a pretence that they are convinced) which their owne *soules* tell them they have no *satisfaction* nor *fast* in.

Secondly, whereas he affirmeth that men may make *Lawes* to see the *Lawes* of God observed.

I answer, as *God* needeth not the helpe of a materiall *sword* of *steele* to assist the *sword* of the *Spirit* in the affaires of *conscience*, so those men, those *Magistrates*, yea that *Commonwealth* which makes such *Magistrates*, must needs have power and authority from *Christ* *Iesus* to sit *judge* and to determine in all the great controversies concerning *doctrine*, *discipline*, *government*, &c.

And then I aske, whether upon this ground it must not evidently follow, that

Desperate consequences unavoidable.

Either there is no lawfull *Commonwealth* nor *civill State* of men in the world, which is not qualified with this spirituall *discerning*: (and then also that the very *Commonweale* hath more *light* concerning the *Church* of *Christ*, then the *Church* it selfe.)

Or, that the *Commonweale* and *Magistrates* thereof must judge and punish as they are perswaded in their owne beleefe and *conscience*, (be their *conscience* *Paganish*, *Turkish*, or *Antichristian*) what is this but to confound *Heaven* and *Earth* together, and not onely to take away the being of *Christianity* out of the *World*, but to take away all *civility*, and the *world* out of the *world*, and to lay all upon heapes of *confusion*?

CHAP. LXXIII.

Luthers testi-
mony in this
case discussed.

Peace. **T**He like answer (saith he) may bee returned to *Luther*, whom you next alledge.

First, that the government of the *civill Magistrate* extendeth no further then over the *bodies* and *goods* of their *subjects*, not over their *soules*, and therefore they may not undertake to give *Lawes* unto the *soules* and *consciences* of men.

Secondly, that the *Church of Christ* doth not use the Arme of *secular* power to compell men to the true profession of the *truth*, for this is to be done with *spirituall weapons*, whereby *Christians* are to be exhorted, not compelled. "But this (saith hee) hindreth not
"that *Christians* sinning against *light* of *faith* and *conscience*, may
"justly be censured by the *Church* with *excommunication*, and by
"the *civill sword* also, in case they shall corrupt others to the perdition of their *soules*.

Truth. I answer, in this joyn't confession of the *Answerer* with *Luther*, to wit, that the government of the *civill Magistrate* extendeth no further then over the *bodies* and *goods* of their *subjects*, not over their *soules*: who sees not what a cleare testimony from his own mouth and pen is given, to wit, that either the *Spirituall* and *Church* estate, the preaching of the *Word*, and the gathering of the *Church*, the *Baptisme* of it, the *Ministry*, *Government* and *Administrations* thereof belong to the *civill body* of the *Commonweale*? that is, to the *bodies* and *goods* of men, which seemes monstrous to imagine: Or else that the *civill Magistrate* cannot (without exceeding the bounds of his office) meddle with those *spirituall* affaires.

Mr. Cottons
positions evidently
proved
contradictory
to themselves.

Again, necessarily must it follow, that these two are contradictory to themselves: to wit,

The *Magistrates* power extends no further then the *bodies* and *goods* of the *subject*, and yet

The *Magistrate* must punish *Christians* for sinning against the *light* of *faith* and *conscience*, and for corrupting the *soules* of men.

The Father of *Lights* make this worthy *Answerer* and all that feare him to see their wandering in this case, not only from his feare, but also from the light of *Reason* it selfe, their owne *convictions* and *confessions*.

Secondly, in his joyn't confession with *Luther*, that the *Church* doth

doth not use the secular power to compell men to the Faith and Profession of the *truth*, he condemneth (as before I have observed)

First, his former *Implication*, viz. that they may bee compelled when they are convinced of the *truth* of it.

Secondly, their owne practice, who suffer no man of any different *conscience* and *worship* to live in their jurisdiction, except that he depart from his owne *exercise* of *Religion* and *Worship* differing from the *worship* allowed of in the *civill State*, yea and also actually submit to come to their *Church*.

Which howsoever it is coloured over with this varnish, viz. that men are compelled no further then unto the hearing of the *Word*, unto which all men are bound: yet it will appeare that *teaching* and *being taught* in a *Church* estate is a *Church* worship, as true and proper a *Church* worship as the Supper of the Lord, *Act. 2. 46.*

Hearing of the Word of God in a Church estate a part of Gods worship.

Secondly, all persons (*Papist* and *Protestant*) that are conscientious, have alwayes suffered upon this ground especially, that they have refused to come to each others *Church* or *Meeting*.

CHAP. LXXIV.

Peace. **T**He next passage in the *Author* which the *Answerer* descends unto, is the *testimony* of the *Papists* themselves, a lively and shining testimony from Scriptures alledged both against themselves and all that associate with them (as power is in their hand) in such *unchristian* and bloody both *tenents* and *practices*.

Papists plea for toleration of conscience.

“As for the *testimony* of the *Papish* booke (saith he) we weigh it not, as knowing what ever they speake for *toleration* of *Religion*, where themselves are under *Hatches*, when they come to sit at *Stern* they judge and *practise* quite contrary, as both their *writings* and *judiciall proceedings* have testified to the world these many *yeares*.”

Truth. I answer, although both *writings* and *practices* have been such, yet the *Scriptures* and *expressions* of *truth* alledged and uttered by them, speake loud and fully for them when they are under the *Hatches*, that for their *conscience* and *religion* they should not there be choaked and smothered, but suffered to breathe and walke upon the *Deckes* in the ayre of *civill liberty* and *conversation* in the Ship of the *commonwealth*, upon good assurance given of *civill obedience* to the *civill State*.

The Prote-
stants partiall
in the case of
persecution.

Againe, if this practice bee so abominable in his eyes from the *Papists*, viz. that they are so partiall as to persecute when they sit at *Helme*, and yet cry out against persecution when they are under the *Hatches*, I shall beseech the Righteous Judge of the whole world to present as in a Water or Glasse (where face answereth to face) the faces of the *Papist* to the *Protestant*, answering to each other in the sameness of partiality, both of this doctrine and practice.

When Mr. *Cotton* and others have formerly been under *hatches*, what sad and true complaints have they abundantly powred forth against persecution? How have they opened that heavenly Scripture, *Cant* 4 8. Where *Christ Jesus* calls his tender *Wife* and Spouse from the fellowship with persecutors in their dens of *Lions*, and mountaines of *Leopards*?

But coming to the *Helme* (as he speaks of the *Papists*), how, both by preaching, writing, Printing, practice, doe they themselves (I hope in their persons *Lambes*) unnaturally and partially expresse toward others, the cruell nature of such *Lions* and *Leopards*?

A false bal-
ance in Gods
matters abo-
minable to
God.

O that the God of Heaven might please to tell them how abominable in his eyes are a *waight* and a *waight*, a *stone* and a *stone* in the bag of *waights*! one waight for themselves when they are under *Hatches*, and another for others when they come to *Helme*.

Nor shall their confidence of their being in the truth (which they judge the *Papists* and others are not in) no nor the Truth it selfe privileged them to persecute others, and to exempt themselves from persecution, because (as formerly.)

Sheep cannot
hunt, no not
the wolves.

First, it is against the nature of true *Sheep* to persecute or hunt the *Beasts* of the *Forrest*, no not the same *Wolves* who formerly have persecuted themselves.

Secondly, if it be a duty and charge upon all *Magistrates* in all parts of the *World* to judge and persecute in and for spirituall causes, then either they are no *Magistrates* who are not able to judge in such cases, or else they must judge according to their *Consciences*, whether *Pagan*, *Turkish* or *Antichristian*.

Pills to purge
out the spirit
of persecution.

Lastly, notwithstanding their confidence of the truth of their owne way, yet the experience of our *Fathers errors*, our owne *mistakes* and *ignorance*, the sense of our own *weaknesses* and *blindnesses* in the depths of the *prophecies* & *mysteries* of the Kingdom of *Christ*, and the great professed expectation of *light* to come which we are not now able to comprehend, may abate the edge, yea sheath up the

sword.

sword of persecution toward any, especially such as differ not from them in doctrines of repentance, or faith, or holinesse of heart and life, and hope of glorious and eternall union to come, but only in the way and manner of the administrations of *Iesus Christ*.

CHAP. LXXV.

Peace. **T**O close this head of the testimony of *Writers*, it pleaseth the *Answerer* to produce a contrary testimony of *Austin*, *Opratus*, &c.

Truth. I readily acknowledge (as formerly I did concerning the testimony of *Princes*) that *Antichrist* is too hard for *Christ* at votes and numbers; yea and beleeve that in many points (wherein the servants of *God* these many hundred yeares have beene fast asleep) *superstition* and *persecution* have had more suffrages and votes from *Gods* owne people then hath either been honourable to the *Lord*, or peaceable to their owne or the soules of others: Therefore (not to derogate from the pretious memory of any of them) let us briefly consider what they have in this point affirmed.

To begin with *Austin*: "They murder (saith he) soules, and themselves are afflicted in body, and they put men to everlasting death, and yet they complaine when themselves are put to temporal death."

I answer, This *Rhetoricall perswasion of humane wisdom* seems very reasonable in the eye of *flesh and blood*, but one *Scripture* more prevails with faithfull and obedient soules then thousands of plausible and eloquent speeches; in particular,

First, the *Scripture* useth *soule-killing* in a large sense, not only for the teaching of false prophets and seducers, but even for the offensive walking of *Christians*, in which respect (1 Cor. 8.) a true *Christian* may be guilty of destroying a soule for whom *Christ* died, and therefore by this rule ought to be hanged, burned, &c.

Secondly, That plausible similitude will not prove that every false teaching or false practice actually kills the soule, as the body is slaine, and slaine but once, for soules infected or bewitched may againe recover, 1 Cor. 5. Gal. 5. 2 Tim. 2. &c.

Thirdly, for soule-killings, yea also for soule-woundings and grievings, *Christ Iesus* hath appointed remedies sufficient in his Church. There comes forth a two edged sword out of his mouth (Rev. 1. and

Superstition & persecution have had many votes from Gods owne people.

Austin saying: for persecution examined.

Soul-killing.

Punishments
provided by
Christ Jesus
against Soule-
killers and
Soule-woun-
ders.

Rev. 2.) able to cut downe *Herese* (as is confest) yea and to kill th *Hereticke*, yea and to punish his *soule* everlastingly, which no *sword* of *steale* can reach unto in any punishment comparable or imagin able; and therefore in this case we may say of this *spirituall soule* killing by the *sword* of *Christs* mouth, as *Paul* concerning the ir cestuous person, 2 Cor. 2. *Sufficient* is this punishment, &c.

Fourthly, Although no *Soule-killers*, nor *Soule-grievors* may be suffred in the *Spirituall* State or Kingdome of *Christ*, the *Church*; yet he hath commanded that such should be suffered and permitte to be and live in the *World*, as I have proved on *Matth. 13.* othe wise thousands and millions of *soules* and bodies both, must be mu thered and cut off by *civill combustions* and bloody warres abou *Religion*.

Men dead in
Sin, cannot be
Soule kill'd.
A Nationall
enforced Re-
ligion or a Ci-
vill War for
Religion the
two great
preventers of
soule conver-
sion and life.

Fifthly, I argue thus: The *Soules* of all men in the *World* are either naturally dead in *Sin*, or alive in *Christ*. If dead in sinne, no man can kill them, no more then he can kill a *dead man*: Nor is it false *Teacher* or false *Religion* that can so much prevent the mean of *Spirituall life*, as one of these two; Either the force of a *materi sword*, imprisoning the *Soules* of men in a *State* or *Nationall Relig ion*, *Ministry* or *Worship*; Or secondly, *Civill warres* and *combustio* for *Religion* sake, whereby men are immediately cut off without any longer *meanes* of *Repentance*.

Now againe, for the *Soules* that are alive in *Christ*, he hath graciouly appointed *Ordinances* powerfully *sufficient* to maintaine and cherish that *life*, *Armour* of *proofs* able to defend them against *ma* and *devils*.

Secondly, the *Soule* once alive in *Christ*, is like *Christ* himself (*Revel. 1.*) alive for ever, (*Rom. 6.*) and cannot die a *spiritu death*.

Soule killers
prove (by the
grace of *Christ*)
Soule savers.

Lastly, Grant a man to be a *false Teacher*, an *Hereticke*, a *Balaan*, a *Spirituall witch*, a *Wolfe*, a *Persecuter*, breathing out *blasphemi* against *Christ*, and *slaughters* against his *followers*, as *Paul* did, *Act.* I say, these who appeare *Soule-killers* to day, by the grace of *Chr*. may prove (as *Paul*) *Soule-savers* to morrow: and saith *Paul Timothy* (1 *Tim* 4.) thou shalt save thy selfe and them that hea thee: which all must necessarily be prevented, if all that com within the sense of these *Soule-killers*, must (as guilty of blood) corporally kill'd and put to *death*.

CHAP. LXVI.

Peace. **D**EARE *Truth*, your *Answers* are so satisfactorie to *Austins* speech, that if *Austin* himselfe were now living, me thinks he should be of your mind. I pray descend to *Optatus*, who (saith the Answerer) justifies *Macharius* for putting some *Heretics* to death, affirming that he had dohe no more herein then what *Moses*, *Phineas* and *Elias* had done before him.

Truth. These are *shafts* usually drawne from the *Quiver* of the Ceremoniall and typical state of the *Nationall Church* of the *Jewes*, whose shadowish and figurative state vanished at the appearing of the *Body* and *Substance*, the *Sun* of *Righteousnesse*, who set up another *Kingdome* or *Church* (*Heb. 12.*) *Ministrie* and *Worship*: in which we finde no such *Ordinance*, *precept* or *president* of killing men by *Materiall Swords* for *Religion* sake.

More particularly concerning *Moses*, I quærie what *commandement* or *practice* of *Moses* either *Optatus* or the *Answerer* here intend? Probably that passage of *Deut. 13.* wherein *Moses* appointed a slaughter either of a *person* or a *city* that should depart from the *God* of *Israel*, with whom that *Nationall Church* was in *Covenant*. And if so, I shall particularly reply to that place in my Answer to the *Reasons* hereunder mentioned.

Concerning *Phineas* his zealous *Act*:

First, his slaying of the *Israelitish* man, and woman of *Midian*, was not for *spirituall*, but *corporall* filthines.

Secondly, no man will produce his *fact* as *presidentiall* to any *Minister* of the *Gospel* so to act in any *Civill* state or *Commonweale*, although I believe in the *Church* of *God* it is *presidentiall* for either *Minister* or *people* to kill and slay with the *two-edged sword* of the *Spirit* of *God* any such bold and open presumptuous sinners as these were.

Lastly, concerning *Eliab*: There were two famous acts of *Eliab* of a killing nature:

First, that of slaying 850 of *Baals* Prophets, *1 Kings 18.*

Secondly of the two *Captaines* and their *Fifties*, by fire, &c.

For the first of these, it cannot figure or type out any *materiall* slaughter of the many thousands of *false Prophets* in the *World* by any *materiall sword* of *Iron* or *Steele*: for as that passage was *miraculous*,

Optatus examined.

Persecutors: leave *Christ*, & flie to *Moses* for their practice.

Phineas his act discussed.

Eliab's slaughterers examined.

raculous, so finde we not any such *commission* given by the Lord Jesus to the Ministers of the Gospel. And lastly, such a slaughter must not only extend to all the false prophets in the World, but (according to the Answerers grounds) to the many thousands of thousands of Idolaters and false worshippers in the Kingdomes and Nation of the World.

Eliahs consuming the 2
Captaines and
their companies by fire,
discussed.

For the second Act of *Eliah*, as it was also of a miraculous nature: So secondly, when the followers of the Lord Jesus (Luc. 9. proposed such a practice to the Lord Jesus, for injury offered to his owne person, he disclaimed it with a *milde checke* to their angry spirits, telling them plainly they knew not what spirits they were of; and addeth that gentle and mercifull conclusion, That he came not to destroy the bodies of men, as contrarily *Antichrist* doth, alledging these instances from the *Old Testament*, as also *Peters* killing *Ananias*, Acts 5. and *Peters* vision and voice, Arise Peter, kill and eat, Acts. 10.

CHAP. LXXVII.

Peace. YOU have so satisfied these instances brought by *Optatus*, that me thinks *Optatus* and the Answerer himself might rest satisfied.

I will not trouble you with *Bernards* argument from Rom. 13. which you have already on that Scripture so largely answered.

But what thinke you (lastly) of *Calvin*, *Beza*, and *Aretius*?

Truth Ans. Since matters of fact and opinion are barely related by the Answerer without their grounds, whose grounds notwithstanding in this Discourse are answered. I answer, if *Paul* himself were joyned with them, yea or an Angel from Heaven bringing any other rule then what the Lord Jesus hath once delivered, we have *Pauls* conclusion and resolution, peremptory and dreadfull, Gal. 1. 8.

Peace. This passage finished, let me finish the whole by proposing one conclusion of the Author of the arguments, viz. "It is
"no prejudice to the Commonwealth if Liberty of Conscience
"were suffered to such as feare God indeed: *Abraham* abode a
"long time amongst the Cananites, yet contrary to them in Religion, Gen. 13. 7. & 16. 13. Again, he sojourned in Gerar, and
"King *Abimelech* gave him leave to abide in his Land, Gen. 20. 21. 23. 24.

"*Isaac* also dwelt in the same Land, yet contrary in Religion,

"*Gen.* 26.

"*Jacob* lived 20 yeares in one house with his Unkle *Laban*, yet differed in Religion, *Gen.* 31.

"The people of *Israel* were about 430 yeares in that infamous land of *Egypt*, and afterwards 70 yeares in *Babylon*: all which times they differed in Religion from the States, *Exod.* 12. & *2 Chron.* 36.

"Come to the time of *Christ*, where *Israel* was under the *Romanes*, where lived divers Sects of Religion, as *Herodians*, *Scribes* and *Pharises*, *Saduces* and *Libertines*, *Theudzans* and *Samaritanes*, beside the Common Religion of the *Jews*, & *Christ* and his *Apostles*. All which differed from the Common Religion of the State, which was like the Worship of *Diana*, which almost the whole World then worshipped, *Acts* 19.20.

"All these lived under the Government of *Cesar*, being nothing hurtfull unto the Commonwealth, giving unto *Cesar* that which was his. And for their Religion and Consciences towards God, he left them to themselves, as having no dominion over their Soules and Consciences: And when the Enemies of the Truth raised up any tumults, the wisdom of the Magistrate most wisely appeased them, *Acts* 18. 14. & 19.35.

"Unto this the Answerer returnes thus much:

"It is true, that without prejudice to the Common-wealth, Libertie of Conscience may be suffered to such as feare God indeed, as knowing they will not persist in Heresie or turbulent Schisme, when they are convinced in Conscience of the sinfulness thereof. But the question is, whether an Heretick after once or twice Admonition, (and so after Conviction) and any other scandalous and heynous offender, may be tolerated either in the Church without Excommunication, or in the Common-weale without such punishment as may preserve others from dangerous and damnable infection.

CHAP. LXXIX.

Truth. Here observe the Answerers partiality, that none but such as truly feare God should enjoy Libertie of Conscience, whence the Inhabitants of the World must either come into the

the estate of men fearing God, or else *dissemble a Religion* in hypocrisie, or else be driven out of the *World*: One must follow. The first is only the gift of God, the second and third are too commonly practised upon this ground.

Againe, since there is so much controversie in the World, where the name of *Christ* is taken up, concerning the true *Church*, the *Ministrie* and *Worship*, and who are those that truly feare God; I aske who shall judge in this case, who be they that feare God?

Dangerous
consequences
flowing from
the Civill
Magistrates
judging in
Spirituall cau-
ses.

It must needs be granted, that such as have the power of *suffring* or not *suffring*, such *Consciences*, must judge: and then must it follow (as before I intimated) that the *Civill State* must judge of the truth of the *Spirituall*; and then *Magistrates* feating or not feating God, must judge of the feare of God: also that their judgement or sentence must be according to their *conscience*, of what *Religion* soever: Or that there is no lawfull *Magistrate*, who is not able to judge in such cases. And lastly, that since the *Soveraigne power* of all *Civill Authority* is founded in the consent of the People, that every *Common-weale* hath radically and fundamentally in it a power of true discerning the true feare of God, which they transfer to their *Magistrates* and Officers: Or else that there are no lawfull *Kingdomes*, *Cities*, or *Townes* in the *world*, in which a man may live, and unto whose *Civill Government* he may submit: and then (as I said before) there must be no *World*, nor is it lawfull to live in it, because it hath not a true discerning Spirit to judge them that feare or not feare God.

The World
turned upside
down.

Lastly, although this worthy *Answerer* so readily grants, that *Libertie* of *Conscience* should be suffred to them that feare God indeed: yet we know what the *Ministers* of the *Churches* of *New-England* wrote in answer to the 3. Question sent to them by some *Ministers* of *Old England*, viz. that although they confest them to be such persons whom they approved of far above themselves, yea who were in their hearts to live and die together; yet if they and other godly people with them, comming over to them, should differ in *Church constitution*, they then could not approve their *Civill* *cobabitation* with them, and consequently could not advise the *Magistrates* to suffer them to enjoy a *Civill* being within their *jurisdiction*.

The wonder-
full answer of
the Ministers
of the Church
of New Eng-
land to the
Ministers of
the Church of
Old England.

Hear O *Heavens*, and give eare O *Earth*, yea let the *Heavens* be astonished, and the *Earth* tremble at such an *Answer* as this from
such

such excellent men to such whom they esteeme for godlinesse above themselves.

CHAP. LXXIX.

Peace. Y^ea, but they say, they doubt not if they were there but they should agree; for, say they, either you will come to us, or you may shew us light to come to you, for we are but weak men, and dreame not of *perfection* in this life.

Truth. Alas, who knowes not what lamentable differences have beene betwene the same *Ministers* of the *Church of England*, some conforming, others leaving their *livings, friends, country, life*, rather then conform; when others againe (of whose personall godlinesse it is not questioned) have succeeded by conformity into such forsaken (so called) *Livings*? How great the present differences even amongst them that feare God, concerning *Faith, Justification*, and the evidence of it? concerning *Repentance* and godly sorrow, as also, and mainly concerning the *Church, the Matter, Forme, Administrations* and *Government* of it?

Lamentable differences even amongst them that feare God.

Let none now thinke that the passage to *New England* by Sea, or the nature of the *Countrey* can doe what onely the Key of *David* can doe, to wit, open and shut the Consciences of men.

Betweene the Presbyterians and Independants, Covenanters and Noncovenanters, of both which many are truly godly in their persons.

Beside, how can this bee a faithfull and upright acknowledgement of their *weaknesse* and imperfection, when they *preach, print, and practise* such violence to the *soules* and *bodies* of others, and by their *Rules* and *Grounds* ought to proceed even to the killing of those whom they judge so deare unto them, and in respect of godlinesse far above themselves?

CHAP. LXXX.

Peace. Y^ea but (say they) the godly will not persist in *Heresie* or turbulent *Schisme*, when they are convinced in *Conscience*, &c.

Truth. Sweet *Truth*, if the *Civill Court* and *Magistracy* must judge (as before I have written) and those *Civill Courts* are as lawfull, consisting of *natural men* as of godly persons, then what consequences necessarily will follow, I have before mentioned. And I adde, according to this conclusion it must follow, that, if the most

The doctrine of persecution necessarily and most commonly falls heaviest upon the most godly persons.

godly persons yeeld not to once or twice *Admonition* (as is maintained by the *Answerer*) they must necessarily be esteemed *obstinate* persons, for if they were *godly* (saith he) they would yeeld. Must it not then be said (as it was by one, passing sentence of *Banishment* upon some, whose godlinesse was acknowledged) that he that commanded the *Judge* not to respect the poore in the cause of *judgement*, commands him not to respect the holy or the godly person?

The doctrine
of persecution
drives the
most godly
persons out of
the world.

Hence I could name the place and time when a *godly* man, a most desirable person for his trade, &c. (yet something different in *conscience*) propounded his willingness and desire to come to dwell in a certaine *Towne* in *New England*; it was answered by the Chiefe of the place, This man differs from us, and wee desire not to be troubled. So that in conclusion (for no other reason in the world) the poore man, though godly, usefull and peaceable, could not be admitted to a Civill Being and Habitation on the Common Earth in that Wildernesse amongst them.

The latter part of the Answer concerning the *Hereticke* or obstinate person to be excommunicated, and the *scandalous offender* to be punished in the *Commonweale*, which neither of both come neere our *Question*: I have spoken I feare too largely already.

Peace. Mr. Cotton concludes with a confident perswasion of having removed the grounds of that great *errorr*, viz. that persons are not to be persecuted for cause of *conscience*.

Truth. And I beleeeve (deare *Peace*) it shall appear to them that (with feare and trembling at the word of the Lord) examine these passages, that the charge of *errorr* reboundeth backe even such an *errorr*, as may well bee called the *bloody renent*, so directly contradicting the *spirit* and *minde* and *practlice* of the *Prince of Peace*; so deeply guilty of the blood of soules compelled and forced to *hypocrisie* in a *spirituall* and *soule rape*; so deeply guilty of the blood of the *Soules* under the *Altar*, persecuted in all ages for the cause of *Conscience*, and so destructive to the *civill peace* and *welfare* of all *Kingdomes*, *Countries*, and *Commonwealths*.

The bloody
Trent.

CHAP. LXXXI.

Peace. **T**O this Conclusion (deare *Truth*) I heartily subscribe, and know the *God*, the *Spirit*, the *Prince*, the *Angels*, and all the true awaked Sons of *Peace* will call thee blessed.

Truth.

Truth. How sweet and precious are these *contemplations*, but oh how sweet the *actions* and *fruits*?

Peace. Thy lips drop as the *Honey-combe*, *Honey* and *Milke* are under thy *Tongue*; oh that these *drops*, these *streames* might flow without a *stop* or *interruption*!

Truth. The glorious white *Troopers* (*Rev. 19.*) shall in time be mounted, and he that is the most *High Prince* of *Princes*, and *Lord Generall* of *Generalls* mounted upon the Word of *Truth* and *Meeknesse* (*Psal. 45.*) shall triumph gloriously, and renew our meetings. But hark, what noise is this?

Peace. These are the dolefull *drums*, and shrill sounding *trumpets*, *Warres* for the roaring murdering *Canons*, the *shouts* of *Conquerours*, the *groans* *Conscience* of *wounded*, *dying*, *slaughtered*, *righteous* with the *wicked*. Deare *Truth* how long? how long these dreadfull *sounds* and direfull *fights*? how long before my glad *returne* and *restitution*?

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, who will beleeve my true *report*? yet true it is, if I were once beleeved, blest *Truth* and *Peace* should not so soone be parted.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, what welcome hast thou found of late beyond thy former times or present expectations?

Truth. Alas, my *welcome* changes as the *times*, and strongest *swords* and *armes* prevaile: were I beleeved in this, that *Christ* is not delighted with the *blood* of men (but shed his owne for his bloodiest *enemies*) that by the word of *Christ* no man for gainsaying *Christ*, or joyning with his enemy *Antichrist*, should bee molested with the *civill sword*: Were this *foundation* laid as the *Magna Charta* of The blessed highest *liberties*, and good *security* given on all hands for the pre- *Magna Charta* servation of it, how soone should every brow and house be stucke with *Olive Branches*?

Peace. This heavenly *invitation* makes mee bold once more to crave thy patient *eare* and holy *tongue*. *Errorrs* impatient and soon tyred, but thou art *Light*, and like the *Father of Lights*, unwearied in thy shinings. Lo, here what once againe I present to thy impartiall *censure*.

A MODEL of CHURCH and CIVIL Power.

*Composed by Mr. COTTON and
the MINISTERS of NEW-
ENGLAND,*

And sent to the CHURCH at SALEM,
as a further Confirmation of the bloody
Doctrine of PERSECUTION for cause
of CONSCIENCE.

Examined and Answered.

CHAP. LXXXII.

Truth. **V** Hat hast thou there?
Peace. Here is a combination of thine own
Children against thy very life and mine: He
is a Modell (framed by many able learned and
godly hands) of such a Church and Common-weale as wakens Mo-
se from his unknown Grave, and denies Jesus yet to have seene the
Jewish pattern Earth.

Truth. Begin (sweet Peace) read and propound. My hand shall
not be tyred with holding the ballances of the Sanctuarie: doe thou
put in, and I shall weigh as in the presence of Him whose pur-
eyes cannot behold iniquitie.

Peace. "Thus then Ipeakes the Preface or Entrance. "Seein-
g **Mt.** 16. 19. "God hath given a distinct power to Church and Common-weale
with Joh. 20. 23. Rom. 13. 1. "the one Spirituall (called the Power of the Keyes) the oth-
er Mat. 10. 18. "Civill (called the Power of the Sword) and hath made the men-
bers of both Societies subject to both Authorities, so that ever
Ages 15. 20. Sou

"soule in the Church is subject to the higher powers in the Commonweale, and every member of the Commonweale (being a member of the Church) is subject to the Lawes of Christs Kingdome, and in him to the censures of the Church; the Question is, how the Civill State and the Church may dispence their severall Governments without infringement and impeachment of the power and honour of the One or of the Other, and what bounds and limits the Lord hath set betweene both the Administrations.

Truth. "From that conclusion (deare Peace) that every member of the Commonweale, being a member of the Church, is subject to the Lawes of Christs Kingdome, and in Him to the censure of the Church; I observe that they grant the Church of Christ in Spirituall causes to be superiour and over the highest Magistrates in the World; if members of the Church.

Hence therefore I infer, may she refuse to receive, and may also cast forth any, yea even the highest (if obstinate in Sin) out of her Spirituall society.

Hence in this Spirituall society, that soule who hath most of Christ, most of His Spirit, is most (spiritually) honourable, according to the Scriptures, quoted Acts 15. 20. Isa. 49. 23. Gal. 3. 28.

And if so, how can this stand with their common tenent, that the Civill Magistrate must keep the first Table set up, reforme the Church, and be Judge and Governour in all Ecclesiasticall as well as Civill causes?

Secondly, I observe the lamentable wresting of this one Scripture, Isa. 49. 23. Sometimes this Scripture must prove the Power of the Civill Magistrates, Kings and Governours, over the Church in Spirituall causes, &c. Yet here this Scripture is produced to prove Kings and Magistrates (in Spirituall causes) to be censured and corrected by the same Church. 'Tis true in severall respects, he that is a Governour may be a subject but in one and the same spirituall respect to judge and to be judged: to sit on the Bench, and stand at the Bar of Christ Jesus, is as impossible as to reconcile the East and West together.

The first head, That both Iurisdicktions may stand together.

The first head
examined.

Peace. **V**Hereas divers affecting transcending power to
“themselves over the Church have perswaded
“the Princes of the World, that the Kingdome of Christ in His
“Church cannot rise or stand, without the falls of those Common-
John 18.36. “weales wherein it is set up, we do beleewe and professe the con-
“trary to this suggestion; the government of the one being of
Jer. 29.7. “this World, the other not; the Church helping forward the
“prosperity of the Commonweale by meanes only *Ecclesiasticall*
Ezra 7.23. “and *Spirituall*; the Commonweale helping forward her owne
Rom. 1.2.3. “and the Churches felicity by meanes politicall or temporall; the
1 Tim. 2.2. “falls of Commonweales being knowne to arise from their scat-
“tering and diminishing the power of the Church, and the flouri-
“shing of Commonweales with the well ordering of the people
“(even in morall and civill virtues) being observed to arise from
“the vigilant administration of the holy Discipline of the Church,
“as *Bodin*, (a man not partiall to Church Discipline) plainly
“testifieth. The vices in the free estate of Geneva, *quæ legibus nus-*
“*quàm vindicantur*, by meanes of Church Discipline, *sine vi & tu-*
“*multu coercentur*; the Christian liberty not freeing us from sub-
“jection to Authority, but from inthrallment and bondage unto
“sinne.

The Civill
Commonweal
and the Spirituall
Commonweale the
Church, not
inconsistent,
though inde-
pendent the
one on the o-
ther.

Truth. Ans. From this confession, that the Church or Kingdome of
Christ may be set up without prejudice of the Commonweale, accord-
ing to John 18.36. My Kingdome is not of this World, &c. I observe
that although the Kingdome of Christ, the Church and the Civill
Kingdome or Government be not inconsistent, but that both may stand
together; yet that they are independent according to that Scripture,
and that therefore there may be (as formerly I have proved) flouri-
shing Commonweales and Societies of men where no Church of
Christ abideth; and secondly, the Commonweale may be in perfect
peace and quiet, notwithstanding the Church, the Commonweale
of Christ be in distractions, and spirituall oppositions both against their
Religions, and sometimes amongst themselves, as the Church of
Christ.

Christ in Corinth troubled with divisions, contentions, &c.

Secondly, I observe it is true the Church helpeth forward the prosperity of the *Commonweale* by spirituall meanes. *Ier. 29. 7.* The prayers of Gods people procure the peace of the City, where they abide, yet that *Christs Ordinances* and *administrations of Worship* are appointed and given by *Christ* to any *Civill State, Towne or City* as is implied by the instance of *Geneva*, that I confidently deny.

The *Ordinances* and *Discipline of Christ Jesus*, though wrongfully and prophanelly applied to naturall and unregenerate men may cast a blush of *civility* and *morality* upon them as in *Geneva* and other places (for the shining brightnesse of the very shadow of *Christs Ordinances* casts a shame upon *barbarisme* and *incivility*) yet withall I affirme that the misapplication of *Ordinances* to unregenerate and unrepentant persons hardens up their soules in a dreadful sleep and dreame of their owne blessed estate, and sends millions of soules to hell in a secure expectation of a false salvation.

Christs Ordinances put upon a whole City or Nation, may more civilize and moralize, but never Christianize them.

CHAP. LXXXIV.

The second head, concerning Superiority of each Power.

Peace. "Because contention may arise in future times which of these Powers under Christ is the greatest as it hath been under Antichrist, we conceive first, That the power of the *Civill Magistrate* is superiour to the *Church policie* in place, honours, dignity, earthly power in the World; and the *Church* superiour to him (being a member of the *Church*) *Ecclesiastically*, that is, in a *Church way* ruling and ordering him by *Spirituall Ordinances* according to God for his soules health, as any other member, so that all the power the *Magistrate* hath over the *Church* is temporall not spirituall, and all the power the *Church* hath over the *Magistrate* is spirituall not temporall: And as the *Church* hath no temporall power over the *Magistrate*, in ordine ad bonum spirituale: So the *Magistrate* hath no Spirituall power over the *Church* in ordine ad bonum temporale.

"Secondly, the delinquencie of either party calleth for the exercise of the power of terrour from the other part; for no Rulers ordained of God are a terrour to good works, but to evill, *Rom.*

The second head concerning superiority of each power.

Rom. 13. 1. 5. 6

Isa. 49. 23.

Isa. 49. 23.

Luc. 12. 14.

Joh. 8. 11.

And that judgement of the Church in law suits, *1 Cor. 6. 2* is only arbitrium not coactum.

"13.3. So that if the Church offend, the offence of the Church
 "calleth upon the Civill Magistrate, either to seeke the healing
 "thereof as a nursing father by his owne grave advice, and the ad-
 "vice of other Churches; or else if he cannot so prevaile to put
 "forth and exercise the superiority of his power in redressing what
 "is amisse according to the quality of the offence by the course of
 "civill Justice.

"On the other side, if the Magistrate being a member of the
 "Church shall offend, the offence calleth upon the Church either to
 "seek the healing thereof in a brotherly way by conviction of his
 "sinne; or else if they cannot prevaile, then to exercise the supe-
 "riority of their power in removing of the offence and recover-
 "ing of the offendour by Church censures.

*Ans.
 Truth.*

A contradic-
 tion to make
 the Magistrate
 supreme judge
 in spirituall
 causes, and yet
 to have no spi-
 rituall power.

If the end of *Spirituall* or *Church* power is *bonum spirituale*, a spi-
 rituall good; and the end of *Civill* or *State* power is *bonum tempo-
 rale*, a temporall good: And secondly, if the *Magistrate* have no
 spirituall power to attaine to his temporall end, no more then a
 Church hath any temporall power to attaine to her *Spirituall* end,
 as is confest: I demand if this be not a *contradiction* against their
 owne *disputes*, *tenents*, and *practices* touching that question of *per-
 secution* for cause of *conscience*: For if the *Magistrate* be supreme
Judge (and so consequently give supreme judgement, sentence, and de-
 termination) in matters of the first Table, and of the Church, and be
custos utriusq; Tabule, keepers of both Tables (as they speake) and
 yet have no *Spirituall* power as is affirmed, how can he determine
 what the true Church and Ordinances are, and then set them up with
 the power of the Sword? How can he give judgement of a false
 Church, a false Ministry, a false Doctrine, false Ordinances, and
 with a Civil Sword pull them down, if he have no *Spirituall* power, au-
 thority or commission from Christ Jesus for these ends and purposes?

Further I argue thus: If the *civill officers* of State must determine
 judge and punish in *Spirituall* causes, his power, authority and com-
 mission must be either *Spirituall* or *Civill*, or else he hath none at all
 and so acts without a commission and warrant from the Lord Jesus
 and so consequently stands guilty at the Bar of Christ Jesus to an-
 swer for such his practice as a transcendent *Delinquent*.

The Civill
 Magistrate
 confest to have
 no Civill po-
 wer over the
 soules of men.

Now for *civill* power, these worthy Authors confesse that the
 Government of the *civill Magistrate* extendeth no further then ove
 the bodies and goods of the Subject, and therefore hath no *civi*
 power

power over the *Saule*, and therefore (say I) not in *Soule-causes*.

Secondly, It is here confest in this passage, that to attaine his Civill end, or *Bonum temporale*, he hath no *Spiritual power*, and therefore of necessitie out of their own mouths must they be judged for provoking the *Magistrate*, without either *Civill* or *Spiritual power*, to judge, punish and persecute in *Spiritual causes*; and to feare and tremble, lest they come neere those *frogs* which proceed out of the mouth of the *Dragon* and *Beast* and *false Prophet*, who by the same *Arguments* which the *Authors* here use stirre up the *Kings* of the Earth to make warre against the *Lambe Christ Jesus*, and his Followers, *Revel. 17.*

Norspirituali.

CHAP. LXXXV.

IN the next place I observe upon the point of *Delinquencie*, such a *confusion*, as *Heaven* and *Earth* may stand amazed at: If the *Church* offend (say they) after advice refused, in conclusion the *Magistrate* must redresse, that is, punish the *Church* (that is, in *Church offences* and *causes*) by a course of *Civill justice*.

On the other side, if the *Civill Magistrate* offend after *Admonition* used, and not prevailing, in conclusion the *Church* proceeds to *censure*, that is, to *Excommunication*, as is after ward more largely proved by them.

Now I demand, if the *Church* be a *Delinquent*, who shall judge? It is answered, the *Magistrate*. Again, if the *Magistrate* be a *Delinquent*, I aske who shall judge? It is answered, the *Church*. Whence I observe, (which is monstrous in all cases in the *World*) that one person, to wit, the *Church* or *Magistrate*, shall be at one time the *Delinquent* at the *Bar*, and the *Judge* upon the *Bench*. This is cleere thus: The *Church* must judge when the *Magistrate* offends; and yet the *Magistrate* must judge when the *Church* offends; and so consequently in this case must judge whether she contemne *Civill Authority* in the *Second Table*, for thus dealing with him: Or whether she have broken the rules of the first *Table*, of which (say they) God hath made him *Keeper* and *Conserver*. And therefore, though the *Church* make him a *Delinquent* at the *Bar*, yet by their confession God hath made him a *Judge* on the *Bench*. What blood, what *innuities* hath been, and must be spilt upon these grounds?

The Magistrate and the Church, by the Authors grounds, at one and the same time, in one and the same cause, made the Judges on the Bench, and Delinquents at the Barre.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, No question but the *Church* may punish the *Magistrate* spirituall in spirituall cases; and the *Magistrate* may punish the *Church*, civilly, in civil cases: But that for one and the same cause the *Church* must punish the *Magistrate*, and the *Magistrate* the *Church*, this seemes monstrous, and needs explanation.

An illustration demonstrating that the Civill Magistrate cannot have power over the Church in spirituall or Church causes.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, I illustrate with this Instance: A true Church of Christ (of which, according to the Authors supposition, the *Magistrate* is a member) chooseth and calls one of her members to office: The *Magistrate* opposeth: The Church perswaded that the *Magistrates* exceptions are insufficient (according to her priviledge, which these Anthours maintaine against the *Magistrates* prohibition) proceeds to Ordaine her officer: The *Magistrate* chargeth the Church to have made an unfit and unworthy choice, and therefore according to his place and power, and according to his conscience and judgement he suppresseth such an officer, and makes void the Churches choice: Upon this the Church complains against the *Magistrates* violation of her priviledges given her by Christ Iesus, and cries out that the *Magistrate* is turned *Persecuter*; and not prevailing with admonition, she proceeds to *Excommunication* against him: The *Magistrate* according to his conscience, endures not such profanation of Ordinances as he conceives; and therefore if no advice and admonition prevaile, he proceeds against such obstinate abusers of Christs holy Ordinances, (as the Authors grant he may) in Civill Court of justice, yea and (I adde according to the patterne of Israel) cuts them off by the sword, as obstinate usurpers and profphaners of the holy things of Christ.

The punishments Civill which the Magistrate inflicts upon the Church for Civill crimes, lawfull and necessary.

I demand what helpe hath any poore Church of Christ in this case, by maintaining this power of the *Magistrate* to punish the Church of Christ, I meane in spirituall and Soule-cases, for otherwise I question not but he may put all the members of the Church to death justly, if they commit crimes worthy thereof, as Paul spake, *Acts 23.*

Shall the Church here flie to the Popes Sanctuarie against Emperours and Princes excommunicate, to wit, give away their crowns, kingdomes or dominions, and invite forraigne Princes to make War upon them and their Territories? The Authors surely will disclaime this; and yet I shall prove their Tenents tend directly unto such a practise.

Or secondly, shall he say the *Magistrate* is not a true *Magistrate* because not able to judge and determine in such cases? This, their *confession* will not give them leave to say, because they cannot deny *unbelievers* to be *lawfull Magistrates*: and yet it shall appeare notwithstanding their *confession* to the contrary) their Tenents imply, that none but a *Magistrate* after their own *conscience*, is a lawfull *Magistrate*.

Therefore, thirdly, they must ingenuously and honestly confesse, that if it be the duty of the *Magistrate* to punish the *Church* in *spirituall cases*, he must then judge according to his *conscience* and *perswasion*, whatever his *conscience* be: and then let all men judge into what a wofull state they bring both the *civill Magistrate* and *Church of Christ*, by such a *Church-destroying* and *State-destroying* Doctrine.

Peace. Some will here say, in such a case either the *Magistrate* or the *Church* must judge: either the *Spirituall* or *Civill* State must be supreme.

I answer, if the *Magistrate* be of another Religion,

First, What hath the *Church* to judge him being without?

Secondly, If he be a *member* of the *Church*, doubtles the *Church* hath power to judge (in *spirituall* and Soule-cases) with *spirituall* and *Church* censures all that are within, 1 Cor. 5.

Thirdly, If the *Church* offend against the *civill* peace of the *State*, by wronging the *bodies* or *goods* of any, the *Magistrate* bears not the sword in vaine, Rom. 13. to correct any or all the members of the *Church*. And this I conceive to be the onely way of the God of *Peace*.

The true way of the God of *Peace* in differences between the *Church* & the *Magistrate*.

CHAP. LXXXVI.

The third head concerns the End of both these Powers.

First the common and last end of both is Gods glory, and Mans eternall felicitie.

Secondly, the proper ends:

First of Commonwealt, is the procuring, preserving, increasing of externall and temporall peace and felicitie of the State in all Godlines and Honestie, 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2.

“Secondly, of the Church, a begetting, preserving, increasing
 “of internall and spirituall peace and felicity of the Church, in a
 “godlinesse and honesty, *Esay* 2.3, 4. and 9. 7. So that Magistrate
 “have power given them from Christ in matters of Religion, be-
 “cause they are bound to see that outward peace be preserved, not
 “in all ungodlinesse and dishonesty (for such peace is Satanicall)
 “but in all godlinesse and honesty, for such peace God aymes at
 “And hence the Magistrate is *custos* of both the Tables of godli-
 “nesse, in the first of Honesty, in the second for Peace sake. He
 “must see that honesty be preserved within his jurisdiction, or else
 “the subject will not be *bonus Cives*. Hee must see that godlinesse
 “as well as honesty be preserved, else the subject will not be *bonus*
 “*vir*, who is the best *bonus cives*. Hee must see that godlinesse and
 “honesty be preserved, or else himselfe will not be *bonus Magi-*
 “*stratus*.

Chamer. de
 Eccles. p. 376.
 Park. part. po-
 lit. lib. 1. cap. 1

Truth. In this passage here are divers particulars affirmed ma-
 vellous destructive both to godlinesse and honesty, though under
 faire make and colour of both.

The Garden
 of the Church
 and the Wil-
 derness of the
 World made
 all one.

First, it will appeare that in spirituall things they make the *Ga-*
den and the *Wildernesse* (as often I have intimated) I say the *Garden*
 and the *Wildernesse*, the *Church* and the *World* are all one: for thus,

If the *Powers of the World or Civill State*, are bound to propos
externall Peace in all godlinesse for their end, and the end of the
Church be to preserve internall Peace in all godlinesse, I demand
 their end (godlinesse), bee the same, is not their power and state the
 same also, unlesse they make the *Church* subordinate to the *Common-*
wealths end, or the *Commonweale* subordinate to the *Churches* end
 which (being the *governour* and letter up of it, and so consequent
 ly the *Judges* of it) it cannot be?

The Com-
 monweale
 more charged
 by these Au-
 thors with the
 Worship and
 Ordinances,
 then the
 Church.

Now if godlinesse bee the *worshipping* and walking with *God* in
Christ, is not the Magistrate and Commonweale charged more by
 this tenent with the *worship* and *Ordinances of God*, then the *Church*
 for the *Magistrate* they charge with the externall peace in godli-
 nesse, and the *Church* but with the internall.

I aske further, what is this internall peace in all godlinesse? whe-
 ther intend they internall within the *Soule*, which onely the eye of
God can see, opposed to externall or visible, which man also can
 discern? or else whether they meane internall, that is spiritual
soule matters, matters of *Gods Worship*, and then I say that peace (to

wit

wit, of godlinesse or Gods worship) they had before granted to the civill State?

Peace. The Truth is, (as I now perceive) the best and most godly of that judgement declare themselves never to have seene a true difference betweene the Church and the World, and the Spirituall and Civill State; and howsoever these worthy *Authors* seeme to make a kinde of separation from the World, and professe that the Church must consist of spirituall and living Stones, Saints, Regenerate persons, and so make some peculiar inclosed Ordinances, as the Supper of the Lord, (which none, say they, but godly persons must taste of) yet by compelling all within their Jurisdiction to an outward conformity of the Church worship, of the Word and Prayer, and maintenance of the Ministry thereof, they evidently declare that they still lodge and dwell in the confused mixtures of the uncleane and cleane, of the flock of Christ, and Herds of the World together, I meane in spirituall and religious worship.

The authors of these Positions never yet saw a true difference betweene the Church of Christ and the world, in point of worship.

Truth. For a more full and clear discussion of this Scripture, 1 Tim. 2. 1. 2. (on which is weakly built such a mighty building) I shall propose and resolve these foure *Queries*.

CHAP. LXXXVII.

First, what is meant by godlinesse and honesty in this place. 1 Tim. 2. 1. Secondly, what may the scope of the holy Spirit of God be in this place. discussed.

Thirdly, whether the civill Magistrate was then *custos utriusque Tabulae*, keeper of both Tables, &c.

Fourthly, whether a Church or Congregation of Christians may not live in godlinesse and honesty, although the civill Magistrate be of another conscience and worship, and the whole State and Country with him.

To the first, What is here meant by godlinesse and honesty?

Ans. I finde not that the Spirit of God here intendeth the first and second Table.

For, how ever the word *Εὐσέβεια* signifie godlinesse, or the worship of God, yet the second word *Σοφία* I finde not that it signifies such an honesty as compriseth the duties of the second Table, but such an honesty as signifies solemnity, gravity, and so it is turned by the Translators, Tit. 2. 7. ἐν τῇ δὲ δόξῃ αἰδουμένην, σοφίαν, that is, in

The word honesty in this place of Timothy cannot signifie here the honesty or righteousness of the second Table.

doctrine

doctrine, incorruptnesse, gravity: which *doctrine* cannot there bee taken for the *doctrine* of the *civill state*, or second Table, but the *gravity, majesty, and solemnity* of the *spirituall doctrine* of *Christianity*. So that according to the *Translatours owne rendring* of that word in *Titus*, this place of *Timothy* should be thus rendred [In all *godlinesse* (or *worshipping of God*) and *gravity*] that is, a *soleinne or grave profession of the worship of God*; and yet this mistaken and misinterpreted *Scripture* is that great *Castle* and strong *Hold* which so many flye unto concerning the *Magistrates charge* over the two *Tables*.

Secondly, what is the *scope* of the *Spirit of God* in this place?

The scope of
Gods Spirit in
this place of
Timothy.

I answer first *negatively*, the *scope* is not to speake of the *duties* of the *first* and second *Table*:

Nor secondly is the *scope* to charge the *Magistrate* with forcing the people (who have chose him) to *godlinesse* or *Gods worship*, according to his *conscience*, (the *Magistrate* keeping the peace of *externall godlinesse*, and the *Church* of *internall*, as is affirmed:) but

Secondly, *positively*, I say the *Spirit of God* by *Paul* in this place provokes *Timothy* and the *Church* at *Ephesus*, and so consequently all the *Ministers of Christs Churches* and *Christians*, to pray for two things.

Gods people
must pray for
and endeavour
the peace of
the State they
live in.

First, for the *peaceable* and *quiet state* of the *Countries* and *places* of their *abode*, that is implied in their *praying* (as *Paul* directs them) for a *quiet* and *peaceable* condition, and suits sweetly with the command of the *Lord* to his people, even in *Babel*, *Ier. 29.7*. Pray for the peace of the *City*, and seeke the *good* of it, for in the *Peace* thereof it shall goe well with you. Which *Rule* will hold in any *Pagan* or *Popish city*, and therefore consequently are *Gods people* to pray against *warres, Famines, Pestilences*, and especially to bee far from kindling *coales of War*, and endeavour the bringing in and advancing their *conscience* by the *sword*.

Although Pa-
gan or Popish

Secondly, they are here commanded to pray for the *salvation* of *all men*, that *all men*, and especially *Kings* and *Magistrates* might be saved, and come to the knowledge of the *truth*, implying that the grave or *solemne* and shining *profession of godlinesse* or *Gods worship* according to *Christ Iesus*, is a blessed meanes to caule *all sorts* of men to be affected with the *Christian profession*, and to come to the same knowledge of that *one God* and *one Mediatour Christ Iesus*. All which tends directly against what it is brought for, to wit, the

Magi-

Magistrates forcing all men to godlinesse or the worshipping of God, Forcing of men to godlinesse or Gods worship, the greatest cause of breach of Civill peace which in truth causeth the greatest breach of peace, and the greatest distractions in the World, and the setting up that for godlinesse or worship which is no more then *Nebuchadnezzars golden Image, a State worship,* and in some places the worship of the Beast, and his Image, Dan 3. Rev. 13.

CHAP. LXXXVIII.

THirdly, I quærie whether the *Civill Magistrate* (which was then the *Roman Emperour*) was keeper or guardian of both Tables (as is affirmed.)

Scripture and all *History* tell us, that those *Casars* were not only ignorant, without *God*, without *Christ*, &c. but professed worshippers or maintainers of the *Roman gods* or devells; as also notorious for all sorts of wickednesse, and lastly, cruell and bloudy *Lions*, and *Tygers* toward the *Christians* for many hundred yeares. The Roman Casars described.

Hence I argue from the *wisdom*, *love* and *faithfulnessse* of the *Lord Jesus* in his house, it was impossible that he should appoint such ignorant, such *Idolatrous*, such *wicked* and such *cruell* persons to be his chiefe Officers and *Deputy Lieutenants* under himselfe to keep the worship of *God*, to guard his *Church*, his *Wife*: No wise and loving father was ever knowne to put his childe, no not his beasts, dogs or swine, but unto fitting keepers. Nor appointed by Christ Jesus keepers and guardians of his Church.

Men judge it matter of high complaint, that the *Records of Parliament*, the *Kings children*, the *Tower of London*, the *Great Seale* should be committed to unworthy keepers! And can it be without high blasphemie conceived that the *Lord Jesus* should commit his *Sheep*, his *Children*, yea his *Spouse*, his thousand shields and bucklers in the *Tower of his Church*! and lastly, his *Great and Glorious Broad Seales of Baptisme* and his *Supper*, to be preserved pure in their administrations; I say that the *Lord Jesus* who is *wisdom*, and *faithfulnessse* it selfe, should deliver these to such keepers.

Peace. Some will say, it is one thing what persons are in *fact* and *practice*: another what they ought to be by *right* and *office*.

Truth. In such cases as I have mentioned, no man doth in the common eye of *reason* deliver such matters of charge and trust to such as declare themselves and sinnes (like *Sodome*) at the very time of this great charge and trust to be committed to them.

Peace. It will further be said, that many of the *Kings of Judah* who had the charge of *establisshing, reforming* (and so consequently of keeping the first Table) the *Church, Gods worship, &c.* were notoriously *wicked, Idolatrous, &c.*

Truth. I must then say, the case is not alike, for when the Lord appointed the government of *Israel* after the rejection of *Saul* to establish a Covenant of *succession* in the type unto *Christ*, let it be minded what *patterne* and *president* it pleased the Lord to set for the after *Kings of Israel* and *Judah*, in *David* the man after His owne Heart.

But now the Lord *Jesus* being come Himselfe, and having fulfilled the former types, and dissolved the *Nationall state* of the *Church*, and established a more *Spirituell way of worship* all the *World* over, and appointed a *Spirituell government* and *governours*, it is well knowne what the *Roman Casars* were, under whom both *Christ Jesus Himselfe* and his *Servants* after him lived and suffered: so that if the Lord *Jesus* had appointed any such *Deputies* (as we finde not a tittle to that purpose, nor have a shadow of true reason so to thinke) he must I say in the very first *institution*, have pitched upon such persons for these *Custodes utriusq; Tabulae*, keepers of both Tables, as no man wise, or faithfull or loving, would have chosen in any of the former *Instances* or cases of a more inferiour nature.

It pleased not the Lord *Jesus* in the first institution of his Church to furnish himselfe with any such *Civill Governours*, as unto whom hee might commit the care of his worship.

Beside to that great *pretence* of *Israel*, I have largely spoken to.

Secondly, I aske how could the *Roman Casars* or any *Civill Magistrates* be *custodes*, keepers of the *Church* and *worship* of *God*, when as the *Authours* of these *positions* acknowledge, that their *Civill power* extends but to *bodies* and *goods*.

And for *Spirituell power* they say they have none, *ad bonum temporale* (to a temporall good) which is their proper end, and then having neither *Civill* nor *Spirituell power* from the Lord *Jesus* to this purpose, how come they to be such Keepers as is pretended?

The true Keepers which *Christ Jesus* appointed, of his *Ordinances* and *Worship*.

Thirdly, If the *Roman Emperours* were Keepers, what Keepers were the *Apostles*, unto whom the Lord *Jesus* gave the care and charge of the *Churches*, and by whom the Lord *Jesus* charged *Timothy*, 1 *Tim. 6.* to keep those *commands* of the Lord *Jesus* without spot untill his coming.

These Keepers were called the foundation of the *Church*, *Ephes. 2. 20.* and made up the *Crowne* of 12 *Stars* about the head of the

Woman, Rev. 12. whose names were also written in the 12 foundations of New Ierusalem, Rev. 21.

Yea what Keepers then are the ordinary Officers of the Church appointed to be the Shepherds or Keepers of the Flocke of Christ, appointed to be the Porters or Dore-keepers and to watch in the absence of Christ, Mark 13. 34. Acts 20.,

Yea what charge hath the whole Church it selfe, which is the pillar and ground of Truth, 2 Tim. 2. in the midst of which Christ is present with his Power, 1 Cor. 5. to keep out or cast out the impenitent and obstinate, even Kings and Emperours themselves from their Spirituall society, 1 Cor. 5. Jam. 3. 1. Gal. 3. 28.

4. I aske whether in the time of the Kings of Israel and Iudah (whom I confesse in the typicall and Nationall state to be charged with both Tables) I aske whether the Kings of the Assyrians, the Kings of the Ammonites, Moabites, Philistims, were also constituted and ordained Keepers of the worship of God as the Kings of Iudah were (for they were also lawfull Magistrates in their Dominions?) or whether the Roman Emperours were custodes, or keepers more then they? or more then the King of Babylon Nebuchadnezzar, under whose Civill government Gods people lived, and in his owne Land and City, Ier. 29.

The Kings of the Assyrians &c. not charged with Gods worship as the Kings of Iudah in that Nationall and typicall church

CHAP. LXXXIX.

Peace. **Y**OU remember (deare Truth) that Constantine, Theodosius, and others were made to beleve that they were the Antitypes of the Kings of Iudah, the Church of God; and Henry the 8. was told that that Title Defensor Fidei, Defendour of the Faith (though sent him by the Pope for writing against Luther) was his owne Diadem due unto him from Heaven. So likewise since, the Kings and Queens of England have been instructed.

Truth. But it was not so from the beginning, as that very difference between that Nationall state of the Church of God then, and other Kings and Magistrates of the world (not so charged) doth clearly evince and leadeth us to the Spirituall King of the Church, Christ Iesus the King of Israel, and his Spirituall Government and Governours therein.

Fifthly, I aske whether had the Roman Cæsars more charge to see all their Subjects observe and submit to the worship of God in their

Masters of families under the Gospel not charged to force all under him from their owne consciences to his.

their dominion of the *World*, then a *master, father or husband* now under the *Gospel* in his *Familie*?

Families are the foundations of government, for what is a *Commonweale*, but a *Commonweale* of *Families* agreeing to live together for common good?

Now in *families*, suppose a beleieving *Christian Husband* hath an unbeleiving *Antichristian Wife*, what other charge in this respect is given to an *husband*, *1 Cor. 7.* but to dwell with her as an husband if she be pleased to dwell with him: but, to bee so farre from forcing her from her conscience unto his, as that if for his conscience sake she would depart, he was not to force her to tarry with him, *1 Cor. 7.* Consequently the *Father or Husband* of the State differing from the *Commonweale* in *Religion*, ought not to force the *Commonweale*, nor to be forced by it: yet is he to continue a *civill husbands* care, if the *Commonweale* will live with him, and abide in *civill covenant*.

Now as a *husband* by his love to the truth and holy conversation in it, and seasonable exhortations, ought to indeavour to save his wife, yet abhorring to use *corperall compulsion* (yea, in this case to *childe* or *servant*) so ought the *Father, Husband, Governor* of the *Commonweale* endeavour to win and save whom possibly he may, yet farre from the appearance of *civill violence*.

If the charge of Gods worship was left with the *Romane Emperour*, then was he bound to turne the whole world into the *Garden, Flock, and Spouse* of *Christ*. Millions put to death.

Sixthly, if the *Romane Emperours* were charged by *Christ* with his *Worship* in their dominion, and their dominion was over the world (as was the dominion of the *Grecian, Persian, and Babylonian Monarchy* before them) who sees not if the whole world bee forced to turne *Christian* (as afterward and since it hath pretended to doe) who sees not then that the world (for whom *Christ Jesus* would not pray) and the *God* of it, are reconciled to *Jesus Christ*, and the whole field of the world become his inclosed garden?

Seventhly, if the *Romane Emperours* ought to have been by *Christs* appointment *Keepers* of both *Tables*, *Antitypes* of *Israel* and *Judahs Kings*, how many millions of *Idolaters* and *Blasphemers* against *Christ Jesus* and his worship ought they to have put to death according to *Israels* patterne?

Lastly, I aske (if the *Lord Jesus* had delivered his *Sheepe* and *Children* to these *Wolues*, his *Wife* and *Spouse* to such *Adulterers*, his precious *Jewels* to such great *Theeves* and *Robbers* of the world as the *Romane Emperours* were, what is the reason that he was never pleased

led to send any of his *servants* to their *gates* to crave their *helpe* & assistance in this his worke, to put them in minde of their office, to chalenge and claime such a service from them according to their office, as it pleased God alwayes to send to the Kings of Israel and Judah in the like case?

Peace. Some will here object *Pauls* appealing to *Cesar*.

Truth. And I must refer them to what I formerly answered to that Objection. *Paul* never appealed to *Cesar* as a Judge appointed by *Christ Jesus* to give definitive sentence in any spirituall or Church controversie, but against that civill violence and murder which the *Jewes* intended against him, *Paul* justly appealed: For otherwise if in a spirituall cause he should have appealed, he should have overthrowne his owne *Apostleship* and Power given him by *Christ Jesus* in spirituall things, above the highest Kings or Emperors of the world beside.

Christ never sent any of his Ministers or Servants to the Civill Magistrate for help in spirituall matters.

CHAP. XC.

Peace. Blessed *Truth*, I shall now remember you of the fourth Quarie upon this place of *Timothy*, to wit, whether a Church of *Christ Jesus* may not live in Gods worship and comelineesse, notwithstanding that the civill Magistrate professe not the same but contrary Religion and Worship in his owne person and the Country with him.

Truth. I answer the Churches of *Christ* under the Roman Emperours did live in all godlinesse and christian gravity, as appeares by all their holy and glorious practices, which the Scripture abundantly testifies.

Secondly, this flowes from an institution or appointment of such a power and authority, left by the Lord *Jesus* to his *Apostles* and Churches, that no ungodlinesse or dishonesty in the first appearance of it was to be suffered, but suppressd and cast out from the Churches of *Christ*, even the little Leaven of doctrine or practice, 1 *Corinth.* 5.

Lastly, I adde, that although sometimes it pleaseth the Lord to purchase his servants peace and quietnesse, and to command them ere in *Timothy* to pray for it, for those good ends and purposes for which God hath appointed civill Magistracy in the world, to keepe the world in peace and quietnesse. Yet Gods people have used most to

Christ Jesus hath left power in his Church to preserve her selfe pure, though in an idolatrous Country.

Gods people
have used to
shine in bright-
est godlinesse
when they
have enjoyed
least quietnes.

about with *godlinesse* and *honesty*, when they have enjoyed least *peace* and *quietnesse*. Then like those *spices*, Cant. 4. *Myrrhe, Frankincense, Saffron, Calamus, &c.* they have yeelded the sweetest savour to God and man, when they were pounded and burnt in cruell per-
secution of the *Romane Censors*: then are they (as *Gods Venison*) most sweet when most hunted: *Gods Stars* shining brightest in the darkest night: more heavenly in *conversation*, more mortified: more bounding in love each to other, more longing to be with God: when the *inhospitable* and *salvage World* hath used them like *strangers*, and forced them to hasten home to another Country which they profess to seeke.

CHAP. XCI.

Pea**c**e. *Deare Truth*, it seemes not to be unseasonable to close up this passage with a short descant upon that *Assertion*, viz.
“A *Subiect* without *godlinesse* will not be *bonus vir*, a good man, no
“a *Magistrate* except he see *godlinesse* preserved, will not be *bonus*
“*Magistratus*.

Few *Magi-*
strates, few
men *spiritual-*
ly and *christi-*
anly good.

Truth. I confesse that without *godlinesse* or a true worshipping of God with an upright heart according to *Gods Ordinances*, neither *Subjects* nor *Magistrates* can please God in Christ *Iesus*, and so be *spiritually* or *christianly* good, which few *Magistrates* and few men either come to, or are ordained unto: God having chosen a little flock out of the world, and those generally poore and meane, 1 *Cor.* 1 *Iam.* 2. Yet this I must remember you of, that when the most High God created all things of nothing he saw and acknowledged divers sorts of *goodnesse*, which must still be acknowledged in their distinct kindes: a good *Ayre*, a good *Ground*, a good *Tree*, a good *Sheep*,
kinde, &c.

Yet divers
sorts of good-
nesse naturall,
artificiall, ci-
vill, &c.

I say the same in *Artificialls*, a good *Garment*, a good *House*, a good *Sword*, a good *Ship*.

I also adde a good *City*, a good *Company* or *Corporation*, a good *Husband*, *Father*, *Master*.

Hence also we say, a good *Physitian*, a good *Lawyer*, a good *Sea-man*, a good *Merchant*, a good *Pilot*, for such or such a *shoale* or *Parbour*, that is, Morally, Civilly good in their severall *Civill* resp^{ts} and imployments.

Hence (*Th.* 1. 133.) the *Church* or *Citie* of God is compared to
a *Ci*

a *Citie* compact within it selfe; which compactnes may be found in many *Townes* and *Cities* of the *World*, where yet hath not shined any spirituall or supernaturall goodnesse. Hence the Lord *Iesus* (*Matth. 12.*) describes an ill state of an *house* or *kingdome*, viz. to be divided againt it selfe, which cannot stand.

These I observe to prove, that a *Subject*, a *Magistrate*, may be a good *Subject*, a good *Magistrate*, in respect of *civill* or *morall* goodnes, which thousands want, and where it is, it is commendable and beautifull, though *Godlines* which is infinitely more beautifull, be wanting, and which is onely proper to the *Christian state*, the *Commonweale* of *Israel*, the true *Church*, the holy *Nation*, *Ephes. 2.* 1 *Pet. 2.*

Lastly, however the *Authors* deny that there can be *Bonus Magistratus*, a good *Magistrate*, except he see all *Godlines* preferred; yet themselves confesse that *civill honesty* is sufficient to make a good *Subject*, in these words, viz. He must see that *Honestie* be preserved within his *jurisdiction*, else the *Subject* will not be *Bonus civis*, a good *citizen*: and doubtlesse (if the *Law* of *Relations* hold true) that *civill honesty* which makes a good *citizen*, must also (together with qualifications fit for a *Commander*) make also a good *Magistrate*.

The Civill Goodnes of *Cities*, *Kingdomes*, *Subjects*, *Magistrates*, must be owned, although Spirituall goodnes (proper to the *Christian State* or *Church*) be wanting.

CHAP. XCII.

Peace. The 4. head is, The proper meanes of both these Powers to attaine their ends.

“First, the proper meanes whereby the *Civill Power* may and should attaine its end, are onely *Politically*, and principally these Five.

“First the erecting and establishing what forme of *Civill Government* may seeme in *wisedome* most meet, according to generall rules of the *Word*, and state of the people.

“Secondly, the making, publishing, and establishing of whole-some *Civill Lawes*, not only such as concerne *Civill Justice*, but also the free passage of true *Religion*: for, outward *Civill Peace* ariseth and is maintained from them both, from the latter as well as from the former:

“*Civill peace* cannot stand intire, where *Religion* is corrupted.
“2 *Chron. 15. 3. 5. 6.* *Judg. 8.* And yet such *Lawes*, though conver-

sant

"fant about Religion, may still be counted Civill Lawes, as on the
 "contrary, an Oath doth still remaine Religious, though conver-
 "fant about Civill matters.

"Thirdly, Election and appointment of Civill officers, to see
 "execution of those Lawes.

"Fourthly, Civill Punishments and Rewards, of Transgressors
 "and Observers of these Lawes.

"Fifthly, taking up Armes against the Enemies of Civill Peace.

"Secondly, the meanes whereby the Church may and should
 "attaine her ends, are only ecclesiasticall, which are chiefly five.

"First, setting up that forme of Church Government only, of
 "which Christ hath given them a pattern in his Word.

"Secondly, acknowledging and admitting of no Lawgiver in
 "the Church, but Christ, and the publishing of his Lawes.

"Thirdly, Electing and ordaining of such officers onely, as
 "Christ hath appointed in his Word.

"Fourthly, to receive into their fellowship them that are ap-
 "proved, and inflicting Spirituall censures against them that
 "offend.

"Fifthly, Prayer and patience in suffering any evill from them
 "that be without, who disturbe their peace.

"So that Magistrates, as Magistrates, have no power of setting
 "up the Forme of Church Government, electing Church officers,
 "punishing with Church censures, but to see that the Church doth
 "her duty herein. And on the other side, the Churches as Churches,
 "have no power (though as members of the Common-
 "weale they may have power) of erecting or altering formes of
 "Civill Government, electing of Civill officers, inflicting Civill
 "punishments (no not on persons excommunicate) as by deposing
 "Magistrates from their Civill Authoritie, or withdrawing the
 "hearts of the people against them, to their Lawes, no more then
 "to discharge wives, or children, or servants, from due obedience
 "to their husbands, parents, or masters: or by taking up armes
 "against their Magistrates, though he persecute them for Consci-
 "ence: for though members of Churches who are publique offi-
 "cers also of the Civill State, may suppress by force the violence
 "of Usurpers, as *Iehoiada* did *Athaliah*, yet this they doe not as
 "members of the Church, but as officers of the Civill State.

Truth. Here are divers considerable passages which I shall briefly examine, so far as concerns our *controversie*.

First, whereas they say, that the *Civill Power* may erect and establish what forme of *civill Government* may seeme in *wisedome* most meet, I acknowledge the *proposition* to be most true, both in it self, and also considered with the end of it, that a *civill Government* is an *Ordinance of God*, to conserve the *civill peace* of people, so farre as concerns their *Bodies and Goods*, as formerly hath beene said.

But from this *Grant* I infer, (as before hath been touched) that the *Soveraigne*, originall, and *foundation of civill power* lies in the *people*, (whom they must needs meane by the *civill power* distinct from the *Government* set up.) And if so, that a *People* may erect and establish what forme of *Government* seemes to them most meete for their *civill condition*: It is evident that such *Governments* as are by them erected and established, have no more *power*, nor for no longer time, then the *civill power* or *people* consenting and agreeing shall betrust them with. This is cleere not only in *Reason*, but in the experience of all *common-weales*, where the *people* are not deprived of their *naturall freedome* by the power of *Tyrants*.

And if so, that the *Magistrates* receive their power of governing the *Church*, from the *People*; undeniably it followes, that a *people*, as a *people*, naturally considered (of what *Nature* or *Nation* soever in *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa* or *America*) have fundamentally and originally, as men, a power to governe the *Church*, to see her doe her *duty*, to correct her, to redresse, reforme, establish, &c. And if this be not to pull *God* and *Christ*, and *Spirit* out of *Heaven*, and subject them unto *naturall*, sinfull, inconstant men, and so consequently to *Sathan* himselfe, by whom all *peoples* naturally are guided, let *Heaven* and *Earth* judge.

Peace. It cannot by their owne *Grant* be denied, but that the wildest *Indians* in *America* ought (and in their kind and severall degrees doe) to agree upon some formes of *Government*, some more *civill*, compact in *Townes*, &c. some lesse. As also that their *civill* and *earthly Governments* be as lawfull and true as any *Governments* in the *World*, and therefore consequently their *Governors* are *Keepers* of the *Church* or both *Tables*, (if any *Church of Christ* should arise or be amongst them:) and therefore lastly, (if *Christ* have be-
trusted and charged the *civill Power* with his *Church*) they must

Civill power
originally and
fundamentally
in the *people*.

Mr. Cotton
and the New-
English Mini-
sters give the
Government
of *Christ's*
Church or
Spouse into
the hands of
the *people* or
*Common-
weale*.

The very *In-
dian Ameri-
cans* made
Governours
of the *Church*
by the *Authors*
of these *Positi-
ons*.

judge according to their *Indian* or *American* consciences, for other consciences it cannot be supposed they should have.

CHAP. XCIII.

Truth. **A** Gaine, whereas they say that outward *Civill* peace cannot stand where *Religion* is corrupted; and quote for it, 2 *Chron.* 15. 3. 5. 6 & *Judges* 8.

Many Civill
States in flourish-
ing peace
and quiet,
where the
Lord Jesus is
not founded.

I answer with admiration how such excellent *spirits* (as these *Authors* are furnished with, not only in heavenly but earthly affaires) should so forget, and be so fast asleep in things so palpably evident, as to say that outward *civill* peace cannot stand, where *Religion* is corrupt. When so many stately *Kingdomes* and *Governments* in the *World* have long and long enjoyed *civill* peace and quiet, notwithstanding their *Religion* is so corrupt, as that there is not the very Name of *Jesus Christ* amongst them: And this every *Historian*, *Merchant*, *Traveller*, in *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, *America*, can testifie: for so spake the Lord *Jesus* himselfe, *Ioh.* 16. The world shall sing and rejoyce.

Secondly, for that Scripture 2 *Chron.* 15. 3. &c. relating the miseries of *Israel* and *Judah*, and *Gods* plagues upon that people for corruption of their *Religion*, it must still have reference to that peculiar state unto which *God* called the seed of one man, *Abraham*, in a *figure*, dealing so with them as he dealt not with any Nation in the *World*, *Psal.* 146. *Rom.* 9.

The *Antitype* to this State I have proved to be the *Christian Church*, which consequently hath been and is afflicted with spirituall plagues, desolations and captivities, for corrupting of that *Religion* which hath been revealed unto them. This appeares by the 7 *Churches*, and the people of *God*, now so many hundred yeares in wofull bondage and slavery to the mysticall *Babel*, until the time of their joyfull deliverance.

Peace. Yea but they say that such *Lawes* as are conversant about *Religion*, may still be accounted *Civill Lawes*, as on the contrary an Oath doth still remaine *Religious*, though conversant about *Civill* matters.

Lawes concern-
ing Religion,
either Religi-
ous,

Truth. *Lawes* respecting *Religion* are two-fold:

First, such as concerne the acts of *Worship* and the *Worship* it self, the *Ministers* of it, their *stines* or *unstines*, to be suppressed or established:

blished: and for such Lawes we find no footing in the New Testament of Jesus Christ.

Secondly, *Lawes* respecting *Religion* may be such as meerly concerne the *Civill State*, *Bodies* and *Goods* of such and such persons, professing these and these *Religions*, viz. that such and such persons, notorious for *Mutinies*, *Treasons*, *Rebellions*, *Massacres*, be disarmed: Again, that no persons *Papists*, *Jewes*, *Turkes*, or *Indians* be disturbed at their *worship*, (a thing which the very *Indians* abhor to practise toward any.) Also that *imanie* and *freedom* from *Tax* and *Toll* may be granted unto the people of such or such a *Religion*, as the *Magistrate* pleaseth, *Ezra 7*.

or Civill.

The very *Indians* abhor to disturbe any Conscience at Worship.

These and such as are of this nature, concerning only the *bodies* and *goods* of such and such *Religious persons*, I confesse are meerly *Civill*.

But now on the other hand, that *Lawes* restraining persons from such and such a *Worship*, because the *Civill state* judgeth it to be false:

That *Laws* constraining to such & such a *worship*, because the *Civill State* judgeth this to be the only true way of worshipping *God*:

That such and such a *Reformation* of *Worship* be submitted unto by all Subjects in such a *Jurisdiction*:

That such and such *Churches*, *Ministers*, *Ministries* be pull'd downe, and such and such *Churches*, *Ministries*, and *Ministrations* set up:

Canons and Constitutions pretended Civill, but indeed Ecclesiasticall.

That such *Lawes* properly concerning *Religion*, *God*, the *Soules* of men, should be *Civill Lawes* and *Constitutions*; is as far from *Reason*, as that the *Commandements* of *Paul*, which he gave the *Churches* concerning *Christs worship* (*1 Cor. 11. & 1 Cor. 14.*) were *Civill* and *Earthly constitutions*: Or that the *Canons* and *Constitutions* of either *ecumenicall* or *Nationall Synods* concerning *Religion*, should be *Civill* and *State-conclusions* and agreements.

To that instance of an *Oath* remaining *religions* though conversant about *civill things*; I answer and acknowledge, an *Oath* may be spirituall, though taken about earthly *business*, and accordingly it will prove, and onely prove what before I have said, that a *Law* may be *civill* though it concerne persons of this and of that *religion*, that is as the *persons* professing it are concerned in *civill respects* of *bodies* or *goods*, as I have opened; whereas if it concerne the *soules* and *religions* of men simply so considered in reference to *God*, it

Lawes meerly concerning spirituall things; must needs be spirituall.

must of necessity put on the nature of a *religious* or *spirituall* ordinance or *constitution*.

Beside, it is a most improper and fallacious instance for an *oath*, being an *invocation* of a true or false *God* to judge in a case, is an action of a *spirituall* and *religious* nature, what ever the *subject* matter be about which it is taken, whether *civill* or *religious*: but a *law* or *constitution* may be *civill* or *religious*, as the *subject* about which it is *conversant* is, either *civill* (meerly concerning *bodies* or *goods*) or *religious* concerning *soule* and *worship*.

CHAP. XCIV.

Peace. **T**Heir fifth Head is concerning the Magistrates power in making of Lawes.

"First, they have power to publish and apply such Civill Lawes in a State as either are exprest in the Word of God in *Moses* Judicialls (to wit, so far as they are of generall and morall equity, and so binding all Nations in all Ages) to bee deducted by way of generall consequence and proportion from the word of God.

"For in a free State no Magistrate hath power over the bodies, goods, lands, liberties of a free people, but by their free consents: And because free men are not free Lords of their owne estates, but are onely stewards under God, therefore they may not give their free consents to any Magistrate to dispose of their bodies, goods, lands, liberties at large as themselves please, but as God (the soveraigne Lord of all) alone. And because the Word is a perfect rule as wel of righteousness as of holines, it will be therefore necessary that neither the people give consent, nor that the Magistrate take power to dispose of the bodies, goods, lands, liberties of the people, but according to the Lawes and Rules of the Word of God.

"Secondly, in making Lawes about civill and indifferent things about the Commonweale.

"First, he hath no power given him of God to make what laws he please, either in restraining from, or constraining to the use of indifferent things, because that which is indifferent in its nature, may sometimes bee inexpedient in its use, and consequently unlawfull, 1 *Cor.* 2.5. it having been long since defended upon good ground, *Quicquid non expedit, quatenus non expedit, non licet.*

"Second-

"Secondly, he hath no power to make any such Lawes about indifferent things, wherein nothing good or evill is shewne to the people, but onely or principally the meere authority or wil of the imposor for the observance of them, *Colos. 2.21, 22. 1 Cor. 7.23,* compared with *Ephes. 6.6.*

"It is a prerogative proper to God to require obedience of the sonnes of men, because of his authority and will.

"The will of no man is *Regula recti*, unlesse first it bee *Regula recta*.

"It is an evill speech of some, that in some things the will of the Law, not the *ratio* of it, must be the Rule of Conscience to walke by; and that Princes may forbid men to seeke any other reason but their authority, yea when they command *frivola & dura*. And therefore it is the duty of the Magistrate in all lawes about indifferent things, to shew the Reasons, not onely the Will, to shew the expediency, as well as the indifferency of things of that nature.

"For we conceive in Lawes of this nature, it is not the will of the Lawgiver onely, but the Reason of the Law which bindes. *Ratio est Rex Legis, & Lex est Rex Regis.*

"Thirdly, because the judgement of expedient and inexpedient things is often difficult and diverse, it is meet that such Lawes should not proceed without due consideration of the Rules of Expediency set downe in the Word, which are these three:

"First, the rule of Piety, that they may make for the glory of God, *1 Cor. 10.31.*

"Secondly, the rule of Charity, that no scandall come hereby to any weake brother, *1 Cor. 8.13.*

"Thirdly, the Rule of Charity, that no man be forced to submit against his conscience, *Rom. 14. 14. 23.* nor be judged of contempt of lawfull Authority, because he is not suddenly perswaded of the expediency of indifferent things; for if the people be bound by God to receive such Lawes about such things, without any triall or satisfaction to the conscience, but must judge them *expedient*, because the Magistrate thinks them so, then the one cannot be punished in following the other, in case he shall sinne in calling *Inexpedient Expedient*; but Christ saith the contrary, If the blinde lead the blinde, they shall both fall.

The Authors
large confifi-
on of the liber-
ty of consci-
ence from the
Laws of Ci-
vill authority
in spirituall
cases.

Civill Magi-
strates confif-
sed not to have
power to urge
the conscience
in indifferent
things.

Truth. In this passage these worthy Men lay downe such a ground, as the *gates of Hell* are not able to shake concerning the *Magistrates* walking in indifferent things: And upon which ground that *Towre of Lebanon* may be raised whereon there hang a thousand *shields* and *bucklars*, Cant 4. to wit, that invincible *Truth*, That no man is to be persecuted for cause of conscience: The ground is this: The *Magistrate* hath not power to make what *Lawes* he please, either in *restraining* or *constraining* to the use of indifferent things: And further he confesseth that the *reason* of the *Law*, not the *will* of it must be the rule of conscience. And they adde this impregnable reason: viz. "If the people be bound to receive such *Lawes* without satisfaction to conscience, then one cannot be punished for following the other, in case he shall sinne contrary to *Christ Jesus*, who saith, If the blinde lead the blinde, they shall both fall.

Hence I argue, If the *Civill Magistrate* have no power to *restrain* or *constrain* their *subjects* in things in their owne nature indifferent, as in eating of *meats*, wearing this or that *garment*, using this or that *gesture*, but that they are bound to try and examine his *commands*, and satisfie their owne *reason*, *conscience* and *judgement* before the *Lord*, and that they shall sinne, if they follow the *Magistrates* command, not being perswaded in their owne soules and conscience that his *commands* are according to *God*! It will be much more unlawfull and heynous in the *Magistrate* to compell the *subjects* unto that which (according to their *consciences* perswasion) is simply unlawfull as unto a falsely constituted *Church*, *Ministry*, *Worship*, *Administration*, and they shall not escape the *Ditch*, by being led blindfold by the *Magistrate*, but though hee fall in first, yet they shall in after him, and upon him, to his greater and more dreadfull judgement.

In particular thus, If the *Magistrate* may *restrain* me from that *gesture* in the Supper of the *Lord*, which I am perswaded I ought to practise, he may also *restrain* me by his *commands* from that Supper of the *Lord* it selfe in such or such a *Church* according to my conscience.

If he cannot (as they grant) *constrain* me to such or such a *garment* in the worship of *God*, can he *constrain* me to worship *God* by such a *Ministry*, and with such worship, which my soule and conscience cannot be perswaded is of *God*?

If he cannot command me in that circumstance of time to worship God this or that day, can he command mee to the worship it selfe?

Peace. Me thinkes I discerne a threefold guilt to lye upon such Civill powers as impose upon and inforce the conscience, though not unto the ministrations and participation of the Seales, yet either to depart from that worship which it is perswaded of, or to any exercise or worship which it hath not faith in.

First, of an appearance of that Arminian Popish doctrine of Freewill, as if it lay in their owne power and ability to beleeve upon the Magistrates command since it is confessed that what is submitted to by any without faith it is sinne, be it never so true and holy *Rom. 14.*

Secondly, since God only openeth the heart and worketh the will, *Phil. 2.* it seemes to be an high presumption to suppose that together with a command restraining from, or constraining to worship, that God is also to be forced or commanded to give faith to open the heart to incline the will, &c.

Thirdly, A guilt of the hypocrisie of their subjects and people in forcing them to act and practice in matters of Religion and Worship against the doubts and checks of their consciences, causing their bodies to worship, when their soules are far off, to draw near with their lips, their hearts being far off, &c.

With lesse sinne ten thousand fold may a naturall Father force his daughter, or the Father of the Commonweale force all the maydens in a Country to the marriage beds of such and such men whom they cannot love, then the soules of these and other subjects to such worship or Ministry, which is either a true or false, because *Cant. 1. 16.*

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, your conclusions are undeniable, and O that they might sinke deep into those Noble and Honourable Bo-
comes it to deeply concernes! but proceed.

CHAP. XCV.

Peace. IN that fifth head they further say thus:

"Thirdly, in matters Ecclesiasticall we beleeve, first, That Civill Magistrates have no power to make or constitute Lawes about Church affaires which the Lord Jesus hath not or-
"dained

A threefold guilt lying upon Civill powers commanding the subjects soules in worship.

Persons may with lesse sin be forced to marry whom they cannot love, then to worship where they cannot beleeve.

"dained in his Word for the well ordering of the Church; for
 "the Apostle solemnly chargeth *Timothy*, and in him all
 "Goverours of the Church, before God and the Lord
 "Jesus Christ (who is the only Potentate, the King of Kings, and
 "Lord of Lords) that the Commandement given by him for the
 "ordering of the Church be kept without spot unrebukeable to
 "the appearing of the Lord Jesus Christ, 1 *Tim.* 6. 14. 15. And
 "this Commandement given in the Word, the Apostle saith is able
 "to make the man of God perfect in all Righteousnesse, 2 *Tim.* 3
 "17. And indeed the administration of all Christs affaires doth im-
 "mediately aime at spirituall and divine ends (as the worship of
 "God and the salvation of mens soules:) and therefore no Law
 "nor meanes can be devised by the wisdom or wit of man that
 "can be fit or able to reach such ends, but it must be made of such
 "onely as the divine Wisdom and holy Will of God hath or-
 "dained.

"Secondly, We beleewe the Magistrates power in making
 "Lawes about Church affaires, is not only thus limited and restrai-
 "ned by Christ to matters which concerne the substance of Gods
 "worship and of Church government, but also such as concerne
 "outward order, as in Rites and Ceremonies for uniformities sake
 "For we finde not in the Gospell that Christ hath any where pro-
 "vided for the uniformity of Churches, but onely for their unity.

"Paul in matters of Christian libertie commendeth the unity of
 "their Faith in the holy Spirit, giving order that wee should not
 "judge nor condemne one another in difference of judgement and
 "practice of such things where men live to God on both sides, e-
 "ven though there were some error on one side, *Rom.* 14. to the 6
 "How much lesse in things indifferent, where there may be no er-
 "ror on either side.

"When the Apostle directeth the Church of Corinth that al-
 "things be done decently and in order, he meant not to give po-
 "wer to Church Officers, or to Civill Magistrates to order what-
 "ever they should thinke meet for decency and order; but only
 "to provide that all the Ordinances of God be administred in the
 "Church decently without unnaturall or uncivill uncomeliness
 "(as that of long haire, or womens prophesying, or the like) and
 "orderly without confusion or disturbance of edification, as the
 "speaking of many at once in the Church.

"Thirdly,

"Thirdly, we doe neverthelesse willingly grant that Magistrates upon due and diligent search what is the counsell and will of God in his Word concerning the right ordering of the Church, may and ought to publish and declare, establish and ratifie such Lawes and Ordinances as Christ hath appointed in his Word for the well ordering of Church affaires, both for the gathering of the Church, and the right administration of all the Ordinances of God amongst them in such a manner as the Lord hath appointed to edification. The Law of *Artaxerxes*, *Ezra* 7.23. was not usurpation over the Churches liberty, but a Royall and just confirmation of them: Whatsoever is commanded by the God of Heaven: For why should there be wrath against the King and his Sonnes?

Truth. Deare *Peace*, me thinkes I see before mine eyes a wall daubed up (of which *Ezekiel* speakes) with untempered mortar: Here they restraints the *Magistrate* from making *Lawes* either concerning the substance or ceremony of *Religion*, but such only as Christ hath commanded, and those, say they, they must publish and declare after the example of *Artaxerxes*.

I shall herein performe two things: First, examine this *Magistrates* duty to publish, declare, &c. such *Laws* and *Ordinances* as Christ hath appointed.

Secondly, I shall examine that prooffe from *Artaxerxes*, *Ezra* 7.23.

In the first, me thinks I heare the voice of the people of *Israel*, Gods *Israel* 1 *Sam.* 8.5. Make us a *King* that may rule over us after the manner of the *Nations*, rejecting the *Lord* ruling over them by his holy Word in the mouth of his *Prophets*, and sheltering themselves under an *Arme of Flesh*; which *Arme of Flesh* God gave them in His *Anger*, and cut off againe in His *Wrath*, after he had persecuted *David* the figure of *Christ Jesus* who hath given his people the *Scepter* and *Sword* of his *Word* and *Spirit*, and refused a temporall *Crowne* or *Weapons* in the dispensation of his *Kingdome*. desirous of
Sash, arme of
fl. sh.

Where did the Lord *Jesus* or his *Messengers* charge the *Civill Magistrate*, or direct *Christians* to petition him, to publish, declare or establish by his *Arme of Flesh* and *Earthly weapons* the *Religion* and worship of *Christ Jesus*?

I finde the *Beast* and false *Prophet* (whose rise and doctrine is not from *Heaven*, but from the *Sea* and *Earth*) dreadfull and terrible

rible by a Civill Sword and dignitie, *Rev. 13. 2.*

The 7 headed
Beast, and the
Lambe differ
in their wea-
pons.

I find the Beast hath gotten the power and might of the Kings of the Earth, *Revel. 17. 13.*

But the Lambes weapons are Spiritually mighty, *2 Cor. 10. &c.* his Sword is two-edged comming out of his mouth, *Revel. 1.* His preparations for War are white Horses and white Harnesse, which are confest by all to be of a spirituall nature, *Revel. 19.*

Naboths case
typicall.

When that *whore* *Jesabel* itabbed *Naboth* with her Pen, in stirring up the people to stone him as a Blasphemer of God and the King, what a glorious maske or vaile of Holines put she on? Proclaime a Fast, set a day apart for *humiliation*; and for *confirmation*, let all be ratified with the Kings Authoritie, Name, and Seale, *1 Kings. 21. 8.*

Was not this recorded for all Gods *Naboths*, standing for their Spirituall interests in heavenly things (typed out by the typicall earth and ground of *Canaans* land) that they through patience and Comfort of the Scriptures might have hope, *Rom. 15. 4.*

Againe, I demand who shall here sit Judge, whether the Magistrate command any other Substance or Ceremonie but what is Christs?

By their former Conclusions, every Soule must judge what the Magistrate commandeth, and is not bound, even in indifferent things, to the Magistrates Law, further then his own Soule, Conscience and judgement ascends to the Reason of it: Here the Magistrate must make Lawes for that Substance and Ceremony which Christ appointed: But yet he must not doe this with his eyes open, but blindfold and hoodwinkt; for if he judge that to be the Religion of Christ, and such to be the order there in which their Consciences judge otherwise, and assent nor to, they professe they must submit only to Christs lawes, and therefore they are not bound to obey him.

Civill Powers
abused as a
Gaard about
the Bed of
Spirituall
whoredomes.

Oh what is this but to make use of the *Civill Powers* and *Governours* of the World, as a Guard about the Spirituall Bed of Soule-whoredomes, in which the Kings of the Earth commit Spirituall fornication with the great Whore, *Rev. 17. 2.* as a Guard while the Inhabitants of the Earth are drinking themselves drunke with the wine of her fornication.

But oh what terrifyings, what allurings are in *Jeremies* Curse and Blessing! *Jer. 17.* Cursed is the man that trusteth in man, that maketh

keth Flesh his Arme (too too common in spirituall matters) and whose heart departeth from Jehovah: He shall be as an Heath in the Wildernes (even in the spirituall and mysticall wildernes) and shall not see when comfort comes, but shall abide in drouth in the wilderness in a barren land, &c.

CHAP. XCVI.

Peace. **O** What mysteries are these to Flesh and Blood! how hard for flesh to forsake the Arme thereof! But passe on (deare *Truth*) to their prooffe propounded, *Ezra* 7.23. wherein *Artaxerxes* confirmed by Law what ever was commanded by the God of Heaven.

Truth. In this Scripture I mind first the people of God captivated under the dominion and government of the Kings of Babel and Persia. *Ezra* 7.23. discussed.

Secondly, *Artaxerxes* his favour to these Captives.

1. Of freedom to their Consciences.

2. Of bountie towards them.

3. Of exempting of some of them from common charges.

Thirdly, *Punishments* on offenders.

Fourthly, the ground that carries him on to all this.

Fifthly, *Ezra* praising of God for putting this into the heart of the King.

Concerning the people of God the *Jewes*, they were as *Lambes* and *Sheep* in the jaws of the *Lyon*, the dearly beloved of his Soule under the devouring *Tyrants* of the World, both the *Babylonian* and the *Persian*, farre from their owne Nation, and the Government of their own anointed Kings, the figures of the true King of the *Jewes* the Lord *Jesus Christ*. Gods people not subject to the Kings of Babel or Persia. Spiritu- als.

In this respect it is cleere, that the *Jewes* were no more subject to the Kings of *Babylon* and *Persia* in spirituall things, then the *Vessels* of the *Sanctuary* were subject to the King of *Babels* use, *Dan* 5.

Concerning this King I consider, first his person, a *Gentile Idolater*, an oppressing *Tyrant*, one of those devouring *Beasts*, *Dan* 7. & 8. An hand of bloody *Conquest* set the Crown upon the head of these *Monarchs*; and although in *Civill*. things they might challenge subjection, yet why should they now sit down in the throne

of *Israel*, and governe the people and *Church of God* in Spirituall things?

Tyrants hearts
sometimes
wonderfully
mollified to-
wards Gods
people.

Secondly, consider his acts of Favour, and they will not amount to a positive Command, that any of the *Jewes* should goe up to build the *Temple*, nor that any of them should practice his own wor-*ship*, which he kept and judged the best for his owne Soule and People.

'Tis true, he freely permits them, and exerciseth a bounteous assistance to them: All which argues no more, but that sometimes it pleaseth God to open the hearts of *Tyrants* greatly to favour and further his people. Such favour found *Nehemiah*, and *Daniel*, and others of Gods people have and shall finde, so often as it pleaseth Him to honour them that honour Him, before the Sonnes of Men.

Peace. Who sees not how little this Scripture contributes to their *Tenent*? but why (say some) should this *King* confirme all with such severe punishments? and why for all this should *Ezra* give thanks to God, if it were not imitable for after-times?

Truth. The Law of God which he confirmed, he knew not, and therefore neither was, nor could he be a Judge in the Case.

And for his Ground, what was it but the common *terrorrs* and *convictions* of an affrighted Conscience?

Nabuchad-
nezzar, Dari-
us, and Artaxerxes
thir decrees exa-
mined.

In such fits and pangs, what have not *Pharaohs*, *Sauls*, *chabs*, *Herods*, *Agrippa's* spoken? and what wonderfull decrees have *Nabuchadnezzar*, *Cyrus*, *Darius*, *Artaxerxes* put forth concerning the God of *Israel*, *Dan. 3.* & *6.* & *Ezra 1.* & *7* &c. and yet as farre from being charged with (as they were from being affected to) the Spirituall Crown of Governing the Worship of God, and the Conscience of his people.

Ezra's thank-
giving for the
Kings decree
examined.

'Tis true, *Ezra* most piously and justly gave thanks to God for putting such a thing into the heart of the King: But what makes this pattern for the Laws of Civill Governours now under the Go-*spell*? It suited well with that Nationall state of Gods Church, that the Gentile King should release them, permit them to returne to their own Land, assist them with other favours, and enable them to execute punishments upon offenders according to their Nationall State.

But did God put such a thing as this into the heart of the King, viz. to restrain upon paine of Death all the millions of men under his Dominion from the Idolatries of their severall and respective Countries? to constrain them all upon the like penaltie to con-
 forme to the Worship of the God of Israel, to build him a Temple, erect an Altar, ordaine Priests, offer sacrifice, observe the Fastes and Feasts of Israel? yea did God put it into the Kings heart to send Levites into all the parts of his Dominion, compelling them to heare; which is but a naturall thing (as some unsoundly speake) unto which all are bound to submit?

Well however, *Ezra* gives thanks to God for the King; and should all that feare God in all Countries, if he would please to put it into the hearts of the Kings, States and Parliaments, to take off the yokes of Violence, and permit (at least) the Consciences of their Subjects, and especially such as in truth make Conscience of their Worships to the God of Israel: and yet no cause for *Ezra* then, or Gods *Ezra's* and Israelites now, to acknowledge the care and charge of Gods worship, Church and Ordinances, to lie upon the shoulders of *Artaxerxes*, or any other Civill Prince or Ruler.

Lastly for the Confirmation or Ratification which they suppose Magistrates are bound to give to the Lawes of Christ, I answer, Gods cause, Christs Truth, and the two-edged sword of his Word, never stood in need of a temporall Sword, or an humane Witnesse to confirme and ratifie them. If we receive the witness of an honest man, the witness of the most holy God is greater,
John 5.

The result and summe of the whole matter is this: 1. It may please God sometimes to stir up the Rulers of the Earth to permit and tolerate, to favour and countenance Gods people in their worships, though only out of some strong conviction of conscience or care of wrath, &c. and yet themselves neither understand Gods worship, nor leave their owne state, Idolatry or Country worship. For this Gods people ought to give thanks unto God; yea and men from this example may learne not to charge upon the Magistrates conscience (besides the care of the Civill peace, the bodies and goods of men) the Spirituall peace in the worship of God and rules of men: but hence are Magistrates instructed favourably to permit their subjects in their worships, although themselves be

The duty of all Civill States toward the Consciences of their Subjects.

Christ needs no humane confirmations.

The sum of the Examples of Gentile Kings decreeing for Gods Worship in Scripture.

not perswaded to submit to them, as *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Cyrus*, *Darius* and *Artaxerxes* did.

CHAP. XCVII.

Peace. **T**He sixt question is this : How far the Church is subject to their Lawes?

“ All those (say they) who are members of the Commonweale
“ are bound to be subject to all the just and righteous Lawes there
“ of; and therefore (membership in Churches not cutting men off
“ from membership in commonweales) they are bound to be sub
“ ject, even every soule, *Rom. 13. 1.* as Christ himselfe and the A
“ postles were in their places wherein they lived, and therefore to
“ exempt the Clergy (as the Papists do) from Civill subjection, an
“ to say that *generatio Clerici, is corruptio subditi*, is both sinfull and
“ scandalous to the Gospel of God; and though all are equally
“ subject, yet Church members are more especially bound to yeeld
“ subjection, and the most eminent most especially bound, not on
“ ly because conscience doth more strongly binde, but also becaus
“ their ill examples are more infectious to others, pernicious to th
“ State, and provoke Gods wrath to bring vengeance on th
“ State.

“ Hence if the whole Church or officers of the Church shal
“ sin against the State or any person by sedition, contempt of Au
“ thority, heresie, blasphemy, oppression, slander, or shall with
“ draw any of their members from the service of the State with
“ out the consent thereof, their persons and estates are liable to
“ Civill punishments of Magistrates according to their righteou
“ and wholsome Lawes, *Exod. 22. 20. Levit. 24. 16. Dent. 13. 5*
“ & 18. 10.

Truth. What concerne this head in civill things, I gladly subscribe unto: what concerne heresie, blasphemy, &c. I have plentifully before spoken to, and shall here only say 2 things :

First, those Scriptures produced concerne only the people of God in a Church estate, and must have reference onely to the Church of Christ Jesus, which (as Mr. *Cotton* confesseth) is no Nationall but Congregationall of so many as may meet in one place, *1 Cor. 14.* & therefore no Civill State can be the antitype and parallell; to which purpose upon the 11 Question I shall at large

shew

new the difference between that Nationall Church and State of
rael, and all other States and Nations in the World.

Secondly, If the Rulers of the Earth are bound to put to death
that worship other gods then the true God, or that blaspheme
that is speake evill of in a lesser or higher degree) that one true
God; it must unavoidably follow that (the beloved for the Pa-
ners sake) the Jewes whose very Religion blasphemeth Christ in
the highest degree, I say they are actually sonnes of death; and all
to be immediately executed according to those quoted Scrip-
tures: And

Secondly, the Townes, Cities, Nations and Kingdomes of
the World must generally be put to the sword; if they speedily
renounce not their Gods and Worships; and so cease to blas-
pheme the true God by their Idolatries: This bloody consequence
cannot be avoided by any Scripture rule, for if that rule be of force
Deut. 13. & 18. not to spare, or shew mercy upon person or City
falling to Idolatry; that bars out all favour or partiality; and then
what heapes upon heapes in the slaughter houses and shambles of
civill Warres must the world come to, as I have formerly noted,
and that unnecessarily, it being not required by the Lord Jesus for
his sake, and the Magistrates power and weapons being essentially
civill, and so not reaching to the impiety or ungodlinesse, but the
incivility and unrighteousnesse of tongue or hand.

The Law of
putting to
death blasphe-
mers of Christ
cuts off all hopes
from the Jewes
of partaking
in his blood.

The direfull
effects of fight-
ing for con-
science.

CHAP. XCVIII.

Peace. **D**EARE Truth, these are the poysoned daggers stabbing
at my tender heart! Oh when shall the Prince of peace
appeare and reconcile the bloody sons of men? but let me now
propose their 7 head: viz.

“In what order may the Magistrate execute punishment on a
Church or Church-member that offendeth his Lawes.

“First, grosse and publicke notorious sinnes which are against
the light of conscience as Heresie, &c. there the Magistrate keep-
ing him under safe ward should send the offendour first to the
Church to heale his conscience, still provided that the Church
be both able and willing thereunto: By which meanes the Ma-
gistrate shall convince such an ones conscience that he seeketh
his healing, rather then his hurt.

“The

"The censure also against him shall proceed with more power and blessing, and none shall have cause to say that the Magistrate persecutes men for their consciences, but that he justly punisheth such an one for sinning rather against his conscience." *Tit. 3. 10.*

"Secondly, in private offences how the Magistrate may proceed." see Chap. 12. It is not materiall whether the Church or Magistrate take it first in hand. Only with this caution, that if the State take it first in hand, they are not to proceed to death or banishment, untill the Church hath taken their course with him, to bring him to Repentance, provided that the Church be willing and ready thereunto.

Secondly, in such sinnes wherein men plead Conscience, as Heresie, &c.

Truth. Here I have many just exceptions and considerations to present.

First, they propose a distinction of some sinnes: some are against the light of conscience, &c. and they instance in Heresie.

Ans. I have before discusst this point of an Heretick sinning against light of conscience: And I shall adde that howsoever they lay this down as an infallible conclusion that all Heresie is against light of Conscience; yet (to passe by the discussion of the nature of Heresie, in which respect it may so be that even themselves may be found hereticall, yea and that in fundamentalls) how doe all Idolaters after light presented, and exhortations powerfully pressed, either Turkes or Pagans, Jewes or Antichristians, strongly even to the death hold fast (or rather are held fast by) their delusions.

Yea Gods people themselves, being deluded and captivated are strongly confident even against some fundamentalls, especially of worship, and yet not against the light, but according to the light or eye of a deceived conscience.

Now all these consciences walke on confidently and constantly even to the suffering of death and torments, and are more strongly confirmed in their beleefe and conscience, because such bloudy and cruell courses of persecution are used toward them.

Secondly, speakes not the Scripture expressly of the Jew, *Isa. 6. Mat. 13. Acts 28.* that God hath given them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, &c. all which must be spoken of the very conscience, which he that hath the golden key of David can only

Errour is confident as well as Truth.

Gods people as well as others will be found obstinate in fundamentall errors in which sufficings and persecution doth harden.

only shut and open, and all the Picklocks or Swords in all the *Smiths* shops in the *World* can neither by *force* or *fraud* prevent his time.

Is it not said of *Antichristians*, 2 *Thessal.* 2. that *God* hath sent them strong *delusions*, so strong and efficacious, that they beleeve a Lie and that so Confidently, and some so Conscientiously, that Death it selfe cannot part betweene the *Delusion* and their Conscience.

“Againe, the *Magistrate* (say they) keeping him in safe ward : that is, the Heretick, the Blasphemer, Idolater, &c.

Peace. I here aske all men that love even the Civill Peace, where the Lord *Jesus* hath spoken a tittle of a Prison or safe ward to this purpose.

Truth. We find indeed a prison threatned by *God* to his irreconciled enemies, neglecting to account with him, *Matth.* 5.

We finde a prison into which persecuters cast the Saints : So *John*, so *Paul*, and the Apostles, *Matth.* 14. 10. &c. were cast, and the great Commander of, and caster into prison, is the Devill, *Revel.* 2.

Wee finde a Spirituall prison indeed, a prison for Spirits, 1 *Pet.* 3. 19. the Spirits formerly rebellious against *Christ Jesus* speaking by *Noah* unto them, now kept in safe ward against the judgement of the great day.

In Excommunication, a Soule obstinate in sinne is delivered to *Sathan* his Jaylour, and he keeps him in safe ward, untill it pleaseth *God* to release him.

There is a prison for the Devill himselfe a thousand yeares, *Rev.* 20. And a Lake of eternall fire and brimstone, into which the Beast and False Prophet, and all not written in the Lambes booke, and the Devill that deceived them, shall eternally be there secured and tormented.

But neither amongst these, nor in any other passage of the New Testament, doe we finde a prison appointed by *Christ Jesus* for the Heretick, Blasphemer, Idolater, &c. being not otherwise guilty against the Civill State.

’Tis true, *Antichrist* (by the helpe of Civill Powers) hath his prisons, to keep *Christ Jesus* and his members fast : such prisons may well be called the Bishops prisons, the Popes, the Devils prisons : These inquisition houses have ever been more terrible then the *Magistrates*.

Spirituall
prisons.

Christ Jesus
appointed no
materiall pri-
sons for Blas-
phemers of
him, &c.

The Bishops
prisons.

At first, persecuting Bishops borrowed prisons of the Civill Magistrate (as now their successors doe still in the world) but afterward they wrung the keyes out of the Magistrates hands, and hung them at their own Girdles, and would have prisons of their owne, as doubtlesse will that Generation still doe, if God prevent them not.

CHAP. XCIX.

Like mother
like daughter.

Peace. **A** Gaine (say they) the *Magistrate* should send him first to the *Church* to heale his *Conscience*.

Truth. Is not this as the Prophet speaks, Like mother, like daughter? So the mother of whoredomes the *Church* of *Rome* teacheth and practiseth with all her *Hereticks*: First let the holy *Church* convince them, and then deliver them to the *Secular* power to receive the punishment of *Hereticks*.

Conscience
not so easily
healed and-
c. red.

Peace. Me thinks also they approach neere that *Popish* Tenent, *Ex opere operato*: for their *Exhortations* and *Admonitions* must necessarily be so operative and prevalent, that if the *Heretick* repent not, he now sins against his *Conscience*: not remembring that *Peradventure*, 2 Tim. 2. If peradventure, God will give them *repentance*: and how strong *delusions* are, and *believing of lies*, and how hard it is to be undeceived, especially in *Spirituals*?

Truth. And as it may so prove, when an *Heretick* indeed is brought to this *Colledge* of *Physitians* to have his conscience healed, and one *Heretick* is to cure another: So also when any of *Christs* *Witneses* (supposed *Hereticks*) are brought before them, how doth the *Lord Jesus* suffer whippings and stabs, when his *Name*, and *Truths*, and *Witneses*, and *Ordinances* are all prophaned and blasphemed?

Wounding in
stead of hea-
ling of Con-
sciences.

Besides, suppose a Man to be an *Heretick*, and yet suppose him brought as the *Magistrates* Prisoner, thought to a true *Church*, to heale his *Conscience*: What promise of *Presence* and *Blessing* hath the *Lord Jesus* made to his *Church* and *Sponse* in such a way? and how common is it for *Hereticks* either to be desperately hardened by such cruell courses (yet pretending Soule-healing) or else through feare and terrour to practice grosse hypocrisie even against their consciences? So that these *Chirurgions* and *Physitians* pretending to heale *Consciences*, by such a course wound them deeper, and declare them-

themselves *Chirurgeons* and *Physicians* of no value.

Peace. But what thinke you of the Proviso added to their Proposition, viz. Provided, the Church bee able and willing?

Truth. Doubtles this proviso derogates not a little from the nature of the Spouse of Christ. For she, like that gracious woman, *Prov. 31. 26.* openeth her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue is the Law of Grace: she is the pillar and ground of Truth, *2 Tim. 2.* The golden candlestick from whence true light shineth: the Angels or Ministers thereof able to try false Apostles (*Rev. 2.*) and convince the Gainfayers, *Tit. 1.*

Christ's Spouse
able and wil-
ling to heale
wounded con-
sciences.

Againe (according to their principles of suppressing persons and Churches falsely worshipping) how can they permit such a blind and dead Church not able and willing to heale a wounded Conscience?

Peace. What should be the reason of this their expression?

Truth. Doubtles their *Consciences* tell them how few of those *Churches* (which they yet acknowledge *Churches*) are able and willing to hold forth *Christ Iesus* the *Sun of Righteousnes*, healing with his wings the doubting and afflicted conscience.

Lastly, their conscience tells them, that a *Servant of Christ Iesus* may possibly be sent as an *Heretick* to be healed by a *false Church*, which *Church* will never be willing to deale with him, or never be able to convince him.

Peace. "Yea, but they say, by such a course the *Magistrate* shall convince such an ones conscience; that hee seekes his good, &c."

Truth. If a man thus bound be sent to a *Church* to be healed in his conscience, either he is an *Heretick*, or he is not.

Admit he be: yet he disputes in feare, as the poor *cheefe*: the *Mouſe* disputes with a terrible persecuting *Cat*: who while she seemes to play and gently tosse, yet the conclusion is a proud insulting and devouring crueltie.

If no *Heretick* but an innocent and faithfull witnes of any Truth of *Iesus*; disputes he not as a *Lambe* in the *Lions* paw, being sure in the end to be torne in pieces?

Peace. They adde: The *censure* this way proceeds with more power and blessing.

Truth. All power and blessing is from that blessed Son of God,

A persecuting
Church dis-
putes with an
Heretick as a
Cat with the
Mouſe; and
with a true
Witnes as a
Lion with a
Lambe in his
paw.

unto whom all power is given from the *Father*, in Heaven and Earth. He hath promised his *presence* with his *Messengers*, preaching and baptizing to the worlds end, ratifying in Heaven what they binde or loose on Earth.

But let any man shew me such a *commission*, *instruction* and *promise* given by the *Son of God* to *Civill powers* in these spirituall affaires of his *Christian Kingdome* and *Worship*?

Peace. Lastly they conclude, "This course of first sending the "Heretick to be healed by the Church, takes away all excuse; for "none can say that he is persecuted for his Conscience, but for "sinning against his Conscience.

Truth. *Iesabel* placing poore *Naboth* before the *Elders* as a blasphemer of *God* and the *King*, and sanctifying the plotted and intended murder with a day of *humiliation*, may seeme to take away all excuse, and to conclude the *Blasphemer* worthy to be stoned: But *Jehovah* the *God of Recompences* (*Ier. 51.*) when he makes *Inquisition* for blood, will find both *Iesabel* and *Ahab* guilty, and make the *Dogs* a feast with the flesh of *Iesabel*, and leave not to *Ahab* a man to pisse against the wall; for (as *Paul* in his owne plea) there was nothing committed worthy of death: and against thee, O *King*, saith *Daniel*, I have not sinned (*Dan. 6.*) in any Civill fact against the State.

Persecutours
endure not so
to be called.

CHAP. C.

Peace. **T**Heir eighth question is this: viz. What power Magistrates have about the gathering of Churches?

"First, the Magistrate hath power, and it is his duty to incourage and countenance such persons, as voluntarily joyn themselves in holy Covenant, both by his presence (if it may be) and "promise of protection, they accepting the right hand of fellowship from other neighbour Churches.

"Secondly, he hath power to forbid all Idolatrous and corrupt "Assemblies, who offer to put themselves under their patronage, "and shall attempt to joine themselves into a Church-estate, and "if they shall not hearken, to force them therefrom by the power "of the Sword, *Psal. 101. 8.* For our tolerating many Religions "in a State in severall Churches, beside the provoking of God, may "in time not only corrupt, leaven, divide, and so destroy the peace
of

of the Churches, but also dissolve the continuity of the State, especially ours whose wals are made of the stones of the Churches; it being also contrary to the end of our planting in this part of the World, which was not only to enjoy the pure Ordinances, but to enjoy them all in purity.

Thirdly, He hath power to compell all men within his grant, to heare the Word, for hearing the Word of God is a duty which the light of Nature leadeth even Heathens to : The Ninivites heard *Jonah*, though a stranger, and unknowne unto them, to be an extraordinary Prophet, *Jonah* 3. And *Eglon* the King of *Moab* hearing that *Ehud* had a message from God, he rose out of his seat for more reverent attention, *Judg.* 3. 20.

Yet he hath no power to compell all men to become members of Churches, because he hath not power to make them fit members for the Church, which is not wrought by the power of the Sword, but by the power of the Word : Nor may he force the Churches to accept of any for members, but those whom the Churches themselves can freely approve of.

Truth. To the first branch of this head, I answer, That the Magistrate should encourage and countenance the Church, yea and protect the persons of the Church from violence, disturbance, &c. It being truly noble and glorious, by how much the *Sponse* and *Queene* of the Lord *Iesus* transcends the *Ladies*, *Queens*, and *Empresses* of the World, in *glory*, *beauty*, *chastity* and *innocency*.

'Tis true, all Magistrates in the world do this: viz. Incourage and protect that Church or Assembly of worshippers, which they judge to be true and approve of; but not permitting other consciences then their owne : It hath come to passe in all ages, and yet doubtlesse will, that the Lord *Iesus* and His *Queene* are driven and persecuted out of the World.

To the second, That the Magistrate ought to suppress all Churches which he judgeth false, he quoteth *Psal.* 101. 8. "Betimes I will cut off the wicked of the Land, that I may cut off all evill doers from the City of *Jehovah* : unto which, he addeth foure Reasons.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, first, a word to that Scripture, so often quoted, and so much boasted of.

Truth. Concerning that holy Land of *Canaan*, concerning the City of *Jehovah*, *Jerusalem*, out of which King *David* here resolves

Pfal. 101.8.
concerning the
cutting off the
wicked, exam-
ined.

to cut off all the wicked and evill doers. I shall speake more largely on the 11 *Head* or *Question* in the *differences* between that and all other Lands.

No Land of
Canaan, nor
holy City now

At present I answer, There is no holy Land or *City* of the *Lord*, no *King* of *Sion*, &c. but the *Church* of *Iesus Christ*, and the *King* thereof, according to 1 *Pet.* 2.9. Ye are a holy *Nation*, and *Jerusalem* is the holy people of *God* in the true profession of *Christianity*, *Heb.* 12. *Gal.* 4. & *Rev.* 21. Out of which the *Lord Iesus* by his holy *Ordinances*, in such a *government*, and by such *governours* as he hath appointed, he cuts off every wicked person and evill doer.

If *Christ Iesus* had intended any difference of *place*, *Cities* or *Countries*, doubtlesse *Jerusalem* and *Samaria* had been thought of, or the *Cities* of *Asia*, wherein the *Christiann Religion* was so gloriously planted.

But the *Lord Iesus* disclaimes *Jerusalem* and *Samaria* from having any respect of *holinesse* more then other *Cities*, *John* 4.

No difference
of Lands and
Cities since
the coming
as was before
the coming
of the *Lord*
Iesus.

And the *Spirit* of *God* evidently testifieth that the *Churches* were in the *Cities* and *Countries*, not that the whole *Cities* or *Countries* were *Gods* holy Land, and *Cities* out of which all *false worshippers* and *wicked persons* were to be cut, *Rev.* 2. & 3.

The *Devells* throne was in the *City* of *Pergamus*, in respect of the *state* and *persecution* of it, and yet there was also the *Throne* of the *Lord Iesus* set up in His *Church* of *worshippers* in *Pergamus*, out of which the *Balaamites*, and *Nicholaitans* and every *false worshipper* was to be cast, though not out of the *City* of *Pergamus*, for then *Pergamus* must have beene throwne out of *Pergamus*, and the *World* out of the *World*.

CHAP. CI.

Peace. O H that my head were a *fountain*, and mine eyes *Rivers* of *teares* to lament my *children*, the *children* of *peace* and *light*, thus darkning that, and other *lightsome Scriptures* with such *darke* and *direfull clouds* of *bloud*.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, thy *teares* are *seasonable* and *precious*, and botled up in the *Heavens*: but let me adde a *second consideration* from that *Scripture*: If that *Scripture* may now *literally* be applied to *Nations* and *Cities* in a *parallel* to *Canaan* and *Ierusalem* since
the

the Gospel, and this Psal. 101. be literally to be applied to *Cities*, Townes, and Countries in *Europe* and *America*, not only such as as-
 ay to joyne themselves (as they here speake) in a corrupt Church of Psal. 101.
 state, but such as know no Church estate, nor God, nor Christ, yea
 every wicked person and evill doer, must be hanged or stoned, &c.
 as it was in *Israel*, and if so, how many thousands and millions of
 men and women in the severall Kingdomes and governments of the
 World must be cut off from their Lands, and destroyed from their
 Cities, as this Scripture speaks?

Thirdly, since those persons in the *New English* plantations ac-
 counted unfit for Church estate, yet remaine all members of the
 Church of *England*, from which *New England* dares not separate,
 so not in their Sacraments (as some of the *Independents* have publi-
 shed) what riddle or mysterie, or rather fallacie of Sathan is this?

Peace. It will not be offence to charity to make conjecture : The New En-
 First, herein *New England Churches* secretly call their Mother English separte
 Whore, not daring in *America* to joyne with their owne Mothers in America,
 children, though unexcommunicate, no nor permit them to worship but not in Eu-
 God after their consciences, and as their Mother hath taught them rope.
 his secretly and silently, they have a minde to doe, which publickly
 they would seem to disclaime, and professe against.

Secondly, If such members of *Old England* should be suffered to
 enjoy their consciences in *New*, (however it is pretended they
 would profane Ordinances for which they are unfit (as true it is in
 that naturall persons are not fit for Spirituall worship) yet this appears
 not to be the bottome, for in *Old England* the *New English* joyne
 with *Old* in the ministrations of the Word, Prayer, singing, contribu-
 tion, maintenance of the Ministrie, &c.) if I say, they should set up
 Churches after their conscience, the greatnesse and multitudes of their
 owne Assemblies would decay, and with all the contributions and
 maintenance of their Ministers, unto which all or most have beene
 forced.

Truth. Deare Peace, These are more then conjectures, thou-
 sands now espie, and all that love the purity of the worship of the
 living God should lament such halting : I shall adde this, not only
 doe they partially neglect to cut off the wicked of the Land, but
 such as themselves esteemed beloved and goldy have they driven
 forth, and keep out others which would come unto them, eminent-
 ly godly by their owne confession, because differing in conscience
 and

The New En-
 glish permit
 not their bre-
 thren of *Old*
England to en-
 joy their con-
 sciences lest
 their owne
 numbers
 might exceed
 their owne, or
 at least the
 greatnesse of
 their owne
 Assemblies &
 maintenances
 decreafe.

and worship from them, and consequently not to be suffered in their holy Land of *Canaan*.

But having examined that Scripture alledged, let us now weigh their Reasons.

First (say they) the not cutting off by the sword, but tolerating many Religions in a State would provoke God: unto which

Christ Jesus
never appointed
all Religions
but his
owne to be
cut off by the
Civill Sword.

I answer, first (and here being no Scripture produced to these Reasons, shall the sooner answer) that no prooffe can be made from the Institutions of the Lord Jesus that all Religions but one are to be cut off by the Civill Sword; that Nationall Church in that typical Land of *Canaan* being abolished, and the *Christian Commonweale* or Church instituted.

A bloody mother.

Secondly, I affirme that the cutting off by the Sword other Consciences and Religions is (contrarily) most provoking unto God, expressly against his will concerning the Tares *Matth. 13.* as I have before proved; as also the bloody mother of all those monstrous mischiefs (where such cutting off is used) both to the *soules* and *bodies* of men.

Thirdly, let conscience and experience speake how in the not cutting off their many Religions, it hath pleased God not only not to be provoked, but to prosper the state of the united Provinces our next neighbours, and that to admiration.

Peace. The second reason is, such tolerating would leaven, divide and destroy the peace of the Churches.

Christs Spirituall power,
most powerful.

Truth. This must also be denied upon so many former Scriptures & Reasons produced, proving the power of the Lord Jesus, and the sufficiency of his Spirituall power in his Church, for the purging forth and conquering of the least evil, yea and for the bringing every thought in subjection unto Christ Jesus, 2 Cor. 10.

Christ forbidding his followers to permit leaven in the Church, doth not forbid to permit leaven in the World.

I adde, they have not produced one Scripture, nor can, to prove that the permitting of leaven of false doctrine in the World or Civill State, will leaven the Churches: only we finde that the permission of leaven in persons, doctrines or practices in the Church, that indeed will corrupt and spread, 1 Cor. 5. & Gal. 5. but this Reason should never have been alledged, were not the particular Churches in New England, but as so many implicite Parish Churches in one implicite Nationall Church.

Peace. Their third Reason is, it will dissolve the continuity of the State, especially theirs, where the walls are made of the stones of the Churches.

Truth.

Truth. I answer briefly to this bare affirmation thus, that the true Church is a wall spirituall and mysticall, *Cant.* 8.9.

Then consequently a false Church or Company is a false or pretended wall, and none of *Christs*.

The *civill State, Power and Government* is a *civill wall, &c.* and

Lastly, the walls of *Earth* or stone about a *City* are the naturall or artificiall wall or defence of it.

Now in consideration of these foure wals I desire it may be proved from the Scriptures of *Truth*, how the false spirituall wall or company of false worshippers suffered in a *City* can be able to destroy the true *Christian wall* or company of beleevers.

Againe, how this false spirituall wall or false Church permitted, can destroy the *civill wall*, the *State and Government* of the *City* and *Citizens*, any more then it can destroy the naturall or artificiall wall of earth or stone.

Spirituall may destroy *spirituall*, if a stronger and victorious, but *spirituall* cannot reach to *artificiall* or *civill*.

Peace. Yea but they feare the false spirituall wall may destroy their *civill*, because it is made of the stones of *Churches*.

Truth. If this have reference to that practice amongst them, viz. that none but members of *Churches* enjoy *civill* freedom amongst them (ordinarily) in imitation of that *Nationall Church and State* of the *Jewes*, then I answer, they that follow *Moses Church constitution*) which the *New English* by such a practice implicately doe) must cease to pretend to the Lord *Jesus Christ* and his *institutions*.

Secondly, we shall finde lawfull *civill States* both before and since *Christ Iesus*, in which we finde not any tidings of the true *God* our *Christ*.

Lastly, their *civill New English State* framed out of their *Churches* may yet stand, subsist and flourish, although they did (as by the word of the *Lord* they ought) permit either *Jewes* or *Turkes* or *Antichristians* to live amongst them subject unto their *Civill Government*.

CHAP. CII.

Peace. One branch more, viz. the third remaines of this Head, and it concerns the hearing of the Word, "unto which" (say they) all men are to be compelled, because hearing of the

Y

"word

The Wall,
Cant. 8.9. discussed.

A Spirituall wall cannot properly impair the civil.

Many flourishing Civill States where true Churches are not found.

“word is a duty which even Nature leadeth Heathens to : for this
 “they quote the practice of the Ninevites hearing *Jonah*, and *Eglon*
 “(King of Moab) his rising up to *Ehuds* pretended message from
 “God, *Judg. 3.*

Hearing dis-
 cussed.

Every Religi-
 on prefers its
 owne Priests
 and Ministers
 before all
 other.

Jonahs prea-
 ching to the
 Ninevites, and
 their hearing
 of his message
 examined.

Truth. I must deny that position : for light of Nature leadeth men to heare that onely which Nature conceiveth to be good for it, and therefore not to heare a Messenger, Minister or Preacher, whom *conscience* perswades is a false messenger or deceiver, and comes to deceive my soule, as Millions of men and women in their severall respective religions and consciences are so perswaded, conceiving their owne to be true.

Secondly, as concerning the instances, *Jonah* did not compell the Ninevites to heare that message which he brought unto them:

Besides the matter of *compulsion* to a constant worship of the word in *Church estate* (which is the *Question*) comes not neare *Jonahs* case.

Nor did *Christ Jesus* or any of his *Embassadors* so practice : but if persons refused to heare the command of the *Lord Jesus* to his Messengers was onely to depart from them, shaking off the dust of their feet with a denunciation of *Gods wrath* against them, *Math. 10. Att. 14.*

Eglon his ri-
 sing up to E-
 huds message,
 examined.

Concerning *Eglon* his rising up : First, *Ehud* compelled not that King either to heare or reverence, and all that can bee imitable in *Eglon*, is a voluntary and willing reverence which persons ought to expresse to what they are perswaded comes from *God*.

But how doe both these instances mightily convince and condemn themselves, who not onely profess to turne away from, but also persecute or hunt all such as shall dare to profess a *Ministry* or *Church estate* differing from their owne, though for personall godliness and excellency of gifts revered by themselves.

Thirdly, to the point of *compulsion* : It hath pleased the *Lord Jesus* to appoint a twofold Ministry of his Word.

A twofold
 Ministry of
 Christ, con-
 verting and
 feeding.

First, for *unbelievers* and their conversion, according to *Math. 28. 19. Marc. 16. 15, 16.* and the constant practice of the Apostles in the first preaching of the *Gospel*.

Secondly, a Ministry of *feeding* and *nourishing* up such as are converted and brought into *Church estate*, according to *Ephos. 4. &c.* Now to neither of these doe we finde any compulsion appointed by the *Lord Jesus*, or practised by any of his.

The compulsion preached and practised in *New England*, is not to the hearing of that *Ministry* sent forth to convert unbelievers, and to constitute *Churches*: for such a *Ministry* they practise not: but to the hearing of the word of edification, exhortation, consolation, dispensed onely in the *Churches of worshippers*: I apply,

When *Paul* came first to *Corinth* to preach *Christ Iesus*, by their Rule the Magistrates of *Corinth* ought by the Sword to have compelled all the people of *Corinth* to heare *Paul*.

Secondly, after a Church of *Christ* was gathered (by their rule) the *Magistrates* of *Corinth* ought to have compelled the people still (even those who had refused his Doctrine, for the few onely of the Church embraced it) to have heard the Word still, and to have kept one day in seven to the *Christians God*, and to have come to the *Christians Church* all their dayes. And what is this but a settled formality of *Religion and Worship*, unto which a people are brought by the power of the sword?

And however they affirme that persons are not to be compelled to be members of *Churches*, nor the Church compelled to receive any: Yet if persons be compelled to forsake their Religion which their hearts cleave to, and to come to *Church*, to the *worship* of the Word, *Prayers*, *Psalmes*, and *Contributions*, and this all their dayes: I aske whether this be not this peoples Religion, unto which submitting, they shall be quiet all their dayes, without the inforcing them to the practice of any other Religion? And if this bee not so, then I aske, Will it not inevitably follow, that they (not onely permit, but) enforce people to bee of no Religion at all, all their dayes?

This toleration of Religion, or rather irreligious compulsion, is above all tolerations monstrous, to wit, to compell men to bee of no Religion all their dayes. I desire all men and these worthy *Authors* of this Modell, to lay their hands upon their heart, and to consider whether this compulsion of men to heare the word, (as they say) whether it carries men; to wit, to be of no Religion all their dayes, worse then the very *Indians*, who dare not live without Religion according as they are perswaded.

Lastly, I adde, from the Ordinance of the Lord *Iesus*, and practice of the Apostles (*Acts 2.42.*) where the Word and Prayer is joyned with the exercise of their fellowship, and breaking of Bread; in which Exercises the Church continued constantly: that it is appa-

Paul never used any civill compulsion.

The New English forcing their subjects to church all their daies, and yet forcing them not to any Religion (as they say) they force the people then to be of no religion all their dayes,

The Civill
State can no
more lawfully
compell the
Consciences
of men to
Church to
heare the
Word, then to
receive the
Sacraments.

rent that a *Civill State* may as lawfully compell men by the *civill sword* to the breaking of bread, or Lords Supper, as to the *Word* or *Prayer*, or *Fellowship*.

For first, they are all of the same nature, *Ordinances* in the *Church* (I speake of the *feeding Ministrie* in the *Church*, unto which persons are compell'd) and *Church Worship*. Secondly, every conscience in the *World* is feartfull, at least shie of the *Priests* and *Ministers* of other *Gods* and *Worships*, and of holding Spirituall fellowship in any of their *Services*. Which is the case of many a Soule, viz. to question the *Ministers* themselves, as well as the *Supper* it selfe.

CHAP. CIII.

Peace. **D**EARE *Truth*, This pressing of men to the Spirituall Battels of Christ Jesus, is the cause why (as it is commonly with prest Souldiers) that so many thousands flie in the day of Battell. But I present you with the 9. Question, viz.

What power the Magistrate hath in providing of Church-Officers?

"First (say they) the Election of Church officers being the proper Act of the Church, therefore the Magistrate hath no power (either as Prince or Patron) to assume such power unto himselfe. "When Christ sends to preach by his supreme power, the Magistrate may send forth by his power subordinate, to gather Churches, and may force people to heare them, but not invest them with office amongst them.

"Secondly, the Maintenance of Church-officers being to arise from all those who are ordinarily taught thereby (*Gal. 6. 6.*) hence "it is the dutie of the Civill Magistrate to contend with the people, as *Nehemiah* did, *chap. 13. ver. 10. 11.* who doe neglect and forsake the due maintenance of the Church of God, and to command them to give such portions for the maintenance of Church officers, as the Gospell commandeth to be offered to them freely and bountifully, *2 Cor. 9. 5, 6, 7.* According as *Hezekiah* commanded the people to give to the *Priests* and *Levites* the portions appointed by the Law, that they might be encouraged in the Law of the Lord, *2 Chron. 31. 4.*

"Thirdly, the furnishing the Church with set officers, depending much upon erecting and maintenance of Schooles, and

good

“good education of youth; and it lying chiefly in the hand of the
 “Magistrate to provide for the furthering thereof, they may there-
 “fore and should so farre provide for the Churches, as to erect
 “Schooles, take care for fit Governours and Tutours, and com-
 “mend it to all the Churches, if they see it meet, that in all the
 “Churches within the Jurisdiction once in a yeare, and if it may
 “be, the Sabbath before the Generall Court of Election, there be
 “a Free-will offering of all people for the maintenance of such
 “Schooles: And the monies of every Towne so given, to be
 “brought on the day of Election to the Treasurie of the Colledge,
 “and the monies to be disposed by such who are so chosen for the
 “disposing thereof.

Truth. In the choice of officers, it is very obscure what they
 mean by this supreme power of Christ Jesus sending to preach.

We know the Commission of the Lord Jesus to his first Messen-
 gers to goe into all Nations to preach and gather Churches, and
 they were immediately sent forth by him: but Mr. Cotton elsewhere
 holdeth, that there is now extant no immediate *Ministry* from
 Christ, but *mediate*, that is, from the Church.

Let us first see how they agree with themselves, and secondly
 how they agree with the *Magistrate* in this busines.

First, if they hold a sending forth to preach by Christs supreme
 power, according to *Math. 28. Mark 16. Rom. 10.* they must ne-
 cessarily grant a time, when the Church is not, but is to be constitu-
 ed out of the Nations and Peoples now converted by this preaching:
 whence according to the course of Scripture, the nature of the
 work, and their own Grant in this place, it is apparent that there
 is a *Ministry* before the Church, gathering and espousing the
 Church to Christ: and therefore their other Tenent must needs be
 too light, viz. that there is no *Ministry* but that which is *mediate*
 from the Church.

In the first
 patterne there
 is a conver-
 ting *Ministrie*,
 to gather the
 Church or
 Flock of
 Christ.

Peace. Blessed *Truth*, this doctrine of a *Ministry* before the
 Church, is *harsh* and *deep*, yet most *true*, most *sweet*: Yet you know
 their *Ground*, that two or three Godly persons may joine them-
 selves together, become a Church, make officers, send them forth
 to preach, to convert, baptize, and gather New Churches.

Truth. I answer, first we find not in the first institution and pas-
 sion, that ever any such two, or three, or more, did gather and
 constitute themselves a Church of Christ, without a *Ministrie* sent

No president
of any people
in the Gospel
converting &
gathering
themselves,
without some
Messenger
sent from the
Lord to effect
those ends.

from God to invite and call them by the *Word*, and to receive them unto fellowship with God upon the receiving of that *Word* and *Mess- sage*: And therefore it may very well be quæried how without such a Ministry two or three become a Church? and how the power of Christ is conveyed unto them; Who espoused this people unto *Jesus Christ*, as the Church at Corinth was espoused by *Paul*, 2 Cor. 11. ? If it be said themselves, or if it be said the Scriptures, let one instance be produced in the first *patternes* and *practicoes* of such a Practice.

It hath been generally confest, that there is no coming to the *Marriage feast* without a *Messenger* inviting, sent from God to the *Soules* of men, *Matth.* 22. *Luc.* 14. *Rom.* 10.

We finde when the *Thessalonians* turned to God from their *Idolls* to serve the living and true God, 1 *Thessal.* 1. 9. it pleased God to bring a *Word* of Power unto them by the mouth of *Paul* in the same place.

Peace. You know (deare *Truth*) it is a common plea, that Gods people now are converted already, and therefore may congregatè themselves, &c.

Truth. Two things must here be cleared :

Professed pub-
lique conver-
sion is not onely
from sinnes a-
gainst the se-
cond Table
in personall
Repentance,
but from false
worship also.

First, doth their *conversion* amount to externall turning from *Idolls*, 1 *Thess.* 1. 9. beside their internall *Repentance*, *Faith*, *Love*, &c. Secondly, who wrought this *conversion*; who begot these Chil- dren? (for though the *Corinthians* might have ten thousand *Tea- chers*, yet *Paul* had begotten them by the *Word*.)

A true Mini-
stry necessary
before con-
version, and
therefore be-
fore the
Church in the
first patterne.

*Tis true (as Mr. *Cotton* himselfe elsewhere acknowledgeth) God sendeth many *Preachers* in the way of his providence (even in *Babel* mysticall) though not according to his *Ordinance* and *Insti- tution*: So even in the *wildernesse* (*Rev.* 12.) God provideth for the sustentation of the woman, *Rev.* 12. by which provision even in the most *Popish times* and places, yea and by most false and *Popish calling*, (now in this lightsome Age confest so to be) God hath done great things to the personall *conversion*, *consolation*, and *salvation* of his people.

But as there seems yet to be desired such constitution of the *Christian Church*, as the first institution and patterne calls for: So also such a calling and converting of Gods people from *Antichristian Idol* to the *Christian Worship*: And therefore such a Ministry (accor- ding to the first patterne) sent from Christ *Jesus* to renew and re-
stor

fore the *Worship and Ordinances of God in Christ.*

Lastly, if it should be granted that without a *Ministry* sent from *Christ* to gather *Churches*, that *Gods* people in this Country may be called, converted from *Antichristian Idolls*, to the true *worship of God* in the true *Church* estate and *Ordinances*; will it not follow that in all other Countries of the World *Gods* Elect must or may be so converted from their severall respective false *worships* and *Idolatries*, and brought into the true *Christian Church* estate without such a *Ministry* sent unto them? Or are there two *ways* appointed by the *Lord Jesus*, one for this Country, and another for the rest of the World? Or lastly, if two or three more (without a *Ministry*) shall arise up, become a *Church*, make *Ministers*, &c. I ask whether those two or three, or more must not be accounted immediately and extraordinarily stirred up by *God*, and whether this be that supreme power of *Christ Jesus* (which they speake of) sending forth two or three private persons to make a *Church* and *Ministers*, without a true *Ministry* of *Christ Jesus* first sent unto themselves? Is this that *commission* (which all Ministers pretend unto) *Mat. 28. 19. &c.* first, in the hands of two or three private persons becoming a *Church*, without a mediāt call from which *Church* (say they) there can be no true *Ministry*, and yet also confesse that *Christ* sendeth forth to preach by his *supreme power*; and the *Magistrate* by his power subordinate to gather *Churches*?

The true way of the Ministry sent with that commission *Mat. 28. discussed.*

CHAP. CIV.

Peace. **Y**OU have taken great paines to shew the irreconcilableness of those their two assertions, *viz.* First, there is now no *Ministry* (as they say) but what is mediāt from the *Church*, and yet secondly, *Christ Jesus* sends *Preachers* forth by his supreme power to gather the *Church*: I now wait to heare, how, as they say, the *Magistrate* may send forth by his power subordinate to gather *Churches*, enforcing the people to heare, &c.

Truth. If there be a *Ministry* sent forth by *Christ* supreme power; and a *Ministry* sent forth by the *Magistrates* subordinate power to gather *Churches*; I aske what is the difference between these two? Is there any gathering of *Churches* but by that *commission*, *Mat. 28. Teach and baptize*? And is the *civill Magistrate*

The *Civill Magistrate* not entrusted with gathering of *Churches*.

intrusted with a power from *Christ* as his *Deputy* to give this *commission*, and so to send out *Ministers* to preach and baptize?

If the Magistrate, then much more the people of the world, from whom the Magistrates receive their power.

As there is nothing in the *Testament* of *Christ* concerning such a *delegation* or *assignment* of such power of *Christ* to the *civill Magistrate*: So I also ask, since in every free State *civill Magistrates* have no more power but what the peoples of those *States, Lands* and *Countries* betrust them with, whether or no (by this meanes) it must not follow that *Christ Iesus* hath left with the Peoples and Nations of the World, his Spirituall Kingly power to grant commissions and send out Ministers to themselves, to preach, convert and baptize themselves? How inevitably this followes upon their conclusion of power in Magistrates to send, &c. and what unchristian and unreasonable consequences must flow from hence, let all consider in the feare of *God*.

Iehosaphat (2 Chron. 17.) a figure of *Christ Iesus* in his Church not of the *Civill Magistrate* in the State.

Iehosaphats sending forth the *Levites* to teach in *Judah, &c.* as they alledge it not; so elsewhere it shall more fully appeare to be a type and figure of *Christ Iesus* the only King of his Church providing for the feeding of his Church and People by his true *Christian Priests* and *Levites*, viz. The *Ministry* which in the *Gospel* he hath appointed.

CHAP. CV.

Peace. **W**E have examined the *Ministry*, be pleased (deare *Truth*) to speake to the second branch of this head, viz. the maintenance of it: They affirme that the Magistrate may force out the Ministers maintenance from all that are taught by them, and that after the patterne of *Israel*, and the argument from 1 Cor. 9. Gal. 6. 6.

Truth. This theame, viz. concerning the maintenance of the Priests and Ministers of worship, is indeed the Apple of the Eye, the *Dianab* of the *Dianab*, &c. yet all that love *Christ Iesus* in sincerity, and soules in and from him will readily professe to abhorre filthy lucre (*Ti. 1.*) and the wages of *Balaam* (both more common and frequent then easily is discernable.)

Gal. 6. 6. Concerning the maintenance of the Ministry examined.

To that Scripture Gal. 6. 6. Let him that is taught in the Word make him that teacheth partaker of all his goods: I answer, That teaching was of persons converted, beleivers entred into the Schoole and Family of *Christ the Church*, which Church being rightly

rightly gathered, is also rightly invested with the power of the Lord Jesus, to force every soule therein by spirituall weapons and penalties to doe its duty.

But this forcing of the *Magistrate* is intended and practised to all sorts of persons without as well as within the Church, *unconverted, naturall* and dead in sinne, as well as those that live, and feeding enjoy the benefit of spirituall food.

Now for those sorts of persons to whom Christ Jesus lends his Word out of Church estate, *lawes* or *Gentiles*, (according to the *Parable of Math. 13. high-way hearers, stony ground and thorny ground hearers*) wee never finde title of any maintenance to bee expected, least of all to bee forced and exacted from them. By *civill power* they cannot be forced, for it is no *civill payment* or businessse, no matter of *Cesar*, but concerning God: nor by *spirituall power*, which hath nothing to doe with those which are without, *1 Cor. 5.*

Christ Jesus never appointed a maintenance of his Ministers from the unconverted and unbelieving.

It is reasonable to expect and demand of such as live within the state a *civill maintenance* of their *civill officers*, and to force it where it is denied. It is reasonable for a *Schoole-master* to demand his recompence for his labour in his *Schoole*: but it is not reasonable to expect or force it from *stranges, enemies, rebels* to that City, from such as come not within, or else would not bee received into the *Schoole*. What is the Church of Christ Jesus, but the City, the *Schoole*, and *Family* of Christ? the *Officers* of this City, *Schoole, Family*, may reasonably expect maintenance from such they minister unto, but not from *strangers, enemies, &c.*

Peace. It is most true that sinne goes in a *links*, for that *tenent* that all the men of the world may bee compelled to heare Christ preach (and enjoy the labours of the Teacher as well as the Church it selfe) forceth on another also as evill, *viz.* that they should also be compelled to pay, as being most equall and reasonable to pay for their conversion.

They that compell men to heare, compell men also to pay for their hearing and conversion.

Truth. Some use to urge that Text of *Luc. 14. Compell them to come in. Compell them to Masse* (say the *Papists*;) compell them to Church and Common prayer, say the *Protestants*: Compell them to the *Meeting*, say the *New English*. In all these *compulsions* they disagree amongst themselves: but in this, *viz.* Compell them to pay, in this they all agree.

Luc. 14. Compell them, examined.

There is a double violence which both Error and Falshood use to the soules of men.

Two sorts of compulsion.

Morall and

First, morall and perswasive, such was the perswasion first used to *Ioseph* by his *Mistris*: such was the *perswasions* of *Tamar* from *Ammon*: such was the compelling of the young man by the Harlot, *Prov. 7.* shee caught him by her much faire *speech* and *kisses*. And thus is the whole world compelled to the worship of the Golden Image, *Dan. 3.*

Civill Compulsion.

The second Compulsion is *civill*, such as *Iosephs* *Mistris* began to practise upon *Ioseph* to attaine her whorish desires.

Such as *Ammon* practised on *Tamar* to satisfie his brutish lust.

And such was *Nabuchadnezzars* second compulsion, his fiery Furnace, *Dan. 3.* and mysticall *Nabuchadnezzars* killing all that receive not his marke, *Rev. 13.*

The Ministers of Christ *Iesus* compell with no other sword then that of Christs mouth, the sword of the Spirit with two edges.

The first sort of these *violences*, to wit, by powerfull argument and perswasion, the *Ministers* of the *Gospel* also use. Hence all those powerfull perswasions of *Wisedomes Maidens*, *Pro. 9.* Hence (saith *Paul*) knowing the *terroure* of the *Lord*, we perswade men, *2 Cor. 5.* and pull some out of the fire, saith *Iude*: such must that compulsion be, *Luc. 14. viz.* the powerfull perswasions of the *Word*, being that two-edged sword comming out of the mouth of *Christ Iesus* in his true *Ministers* sent forth to invite poore sinners to partake of the *Feast* of the *Lambe* of *God*. The *civill Ministers* of the *Commonweale* cannot be sent upon this *businesse* with their *civill weapons* and *compulsions*, but the *spirituall Minister* of the *Gospel* with his *spirituall sword* of *Christs* mouth, a *sword* with *two edges*,

The maintenance of the Ministry spirituall.

But more particularly the *contributions* of *Christs Kingdom* are all holy and spirituall, though consisting of *materiall earthly substance*, (as is *Water* in *Baptisme*, *Bread* and *Wine* in the *Supper*) and joyned with prayer and the *Lords Supper*, *Akt. 2. 42.*

Naturall men can neither truly worship nor maintain it.

Hence as Prayer is called *Gods sacrifice*, so are the *contributions* and mutuall supplies of the *Saints*, *sacrifices*, *Phil. 4.*

Hence also as it is impossible for *naturall men* to bee capable of *Gods worship*, and to feed, be nourished and edified by any *spirituall ordinance*, no more then a *dead childe* can sucke the breast, or a *dead man* feast:

So also is it as impossible for a *dead man* yet lodged in the grave of Nature to contribute spirituall (I meane according to *Scriptures* rule) as for a *dead man* to pay a *reckoning*.

I question not but *naturall men* may for the outward act *preach*, *pray*, *contribute*, &c. but neither are they worshippers suitable to him who

who is a Spirit (*John 4.*) nor can they (least of all) bee forced to worship or the maintenance of it, without a guilt of their hypocrisie.

Peace. They will say, what is to be done for their soules?

Truth. The *Apostles* (whom wee profess to imitate) preached the *Word* of the *Lord* to unbelievers, without mingling in *worship* with them, and such *Preachers* and preaching, such as pretend to be the true *Ministry* of *Christ*, ought to be and practise: Not forcing them all their dayes to come to *Church* and pay their *duties*, either so confessing that this is their *Religion* unto which they are forced: or else that (as before) they are forced to be of no *Religion* all their dayes.

The way to subdue *Rebels* is not by *correspondence* and *communion* with them, by forcing them to keepe the *City Watches*, and pay *seffements*, &c. which all may be practised (upon compulsion) treacherously, the first work with such is powerfully to subdue their judgments and wills, to lay downe their *weapons*, and yeeld willing subjection: then come they orderly into the *City*, and so to *Citie* priviledges.

Rebels not
subdued by
compliance,
but resistance.

CHAP. CVI.

Peace. Please you now (deare Truth) to discusse the *Scriptures* from the *Old Testament*, *Nehem. 13.* and *2 Chron. 31.*

Truth. God gave unto that *Nationall Church* of the *Jewes* that excellent Land of *Canaan*, and therein *Houses* furnished, *Orchards*, *Gardens*, *Vineyards*, *Olive yards*, *Fields*, *Wells*, &c. they might well in this settled abundance, and the promised continuation and increase of it afford a large temporall supply to their *Priests* and *Levites*, even to the *Tenth* of all they did possesse.

The nationall
Church of the
Jewes might
well be forced
to a settled
maintenance
of their priests
but not to the
Christian
Church.

Gods people are now in the *Gospel* brought into a spirituall land of *Canaan*, flowing with spirituall milk and honey, and they abound with spirituall and heavenly comforts, though in a poore and persecuted condution, therefore an enforced settled maintenance is not suitable to the *Gospel*, as it was to the *Ministry* of *Priests* and *Levites* in the *Law*.

Secondly, in the change of the *Church* estate, there was also a change of the *Priesthood* and of the *Law*, *Heb. 7.* Nor did the *Lord Jesus* appoint that in his *Church*, and for the maintenance of his

Ministrie, the *Civill sword* of the *Magistrate*, but that the *Spiritual sword* of the *Ministrie* should alone compell.

The Civill
Sword of the
Nationall
Church of the
Jewes could
not type out
a Civill, but
a Spirituall
Sword of the
Christian
Church.

3. Therefore the *compulsion* used under *Hezekiah* and *Nehemiah*, was by the *civill* and *corporall* *Sword*, a type (in that typicall State not of another *materiall* and *corporall*, but of an heavenly and *spirituall*, even the *sword* of the *Spirit*, with which *Christ* fighteth, *Revel. 3.* which is exceeding sharpe, entring in between the *soule* and *spirit*, *Heb. 4.* and bringing every thought into *captivitie* to the *obedience* of *Christ Jesus*: He that submits not at the shaking of this *sword*, is cut off by it; and he that despiseth this *sword*, all the power in the *World* cannot make him a true *worshipper*, or by his purse a maintainer of *Gods worship*.

No man
should be
bound to wor-
ship, nor main-
taine a Wor-
ship against
his own con-
sent.

Lastly, If any man professing to be a *Minister* of *Christ Jesus*, shall bring men before the *Magistrate* (as the practice hath been, both in *Old* and *New England*) for not paying him his *wages* or his due: I aske (if the voluntarie consent of the party hath not obliged him) how can either the officers of the *Parish*, *Church*, or of the *Civill State* compell this or that man to pay so much (more or lesse) to maintaine such a *Worship* or *Ministrie*? I ask further, if the determining what is each mans due to pay, why may they not determine the tenth and more, as some desired (others opposing) in *New England*, and force men not only to maintenance, but to a *Jewish* maintenance.

Peace. Yea but (say they) is not the *Labourer* worthy of his hire?

Christs labour-
ers worthy of
their hire, but
from them
that hire them

Truth. Yes, from them that hire him, from the *Church*, to whom he labourereth or ministrereth, not from the *Civill State*: no more then the *Minister* of the *Civill State* is worthy of his hire from the *Church*, but from the *Civill State*, (in which I grant the persons in the *Church* ought to be assistant in their *Civill* respects.)

Peace. What maintenance (say they) shall the *Ministrie* of the *Gospell* have?

What mainte-
nance Christ
hath appoin-
ted his Mini-
sters in the
Gospell.

Truth. We finde two wayes of maintenance for the *Ministrie* of the *Gospell*, proposed for our direction in the *New Testament*.

First, the free and willing contribution of the *Saints*, according to *1 Cor. 16. Luc. 8. 3. &c.* upon which both the *Lord Jesus*, and his *Ministers* lived.

Secondly, the diligent worke and labour of their owne hands,

as *Paul* tells the *Theſſalonians*, and that in two caſes :

1. Either in the inabilityes and neceſſities of the Church.
2. Or for the greater advantage of Chriſts truth; as when *Paul* ſaw it would more advantage the name of Chriſt, he denies himſelfe, and falls to worke amongſt the *Corinthians* and *Theſſalonians*.

Let none call theſe caſes extraordinary: for if perſecution be the portion of Chriſts ſheep, and the *buſines* or *worke* of Chriſt muſt be dearer to us then our right eyes or lives, ſuch as will follow *Paul*, and follow the *Lord Jeſus*, muſt not thinke much at, but rejoyce in *poverties*, *neceſſities*, *hunger*, *cold*, *nakedneſſe*, &c. The *Stewards* of Chriſt Jeſus muſt be like their *Lord*, and abhorre to ſteale as the evill *Steward*, pretending that he ſhamed to beg, but peremp- torily, dig he could not.

CHAP. CVII.

Peace. O Ne and the laſt branch (deare *Truth*) remains concer- ning Schooles.

“The Churches (ſay they) much depend upon the Schooles, and the Schooles upon the *Magiſtrates*.”

Truth. I honour Schooles for *Tongues* and *Arts*: but the institution of *Europes Universities*, devoting perſons (as is ſaid) for *Scholars*, in a *Monastiſcall* way, forbidding *Mariage* and *Labour* to, I hold as far from the mind of *Ieſus Chriſt*, as it is from propagating his Name and *Worſhip*.

We count the *Universities* the *Fountaines*, the *Seminaries* or *Seed-plots* of all *Pietie*: but have not thoſe *Fountaines* ever ſent what ſtreames the *Times* have liked? and ever changed their taſte and colour to the *Princes* eye and *Palate*?

For any depending of the Church of Chriſt upon ſuch Schooles, I finde not a tittle in the *Teſtament* of Chriſt *Ieſus*.

I finde the Church of Chriſt frequently compared to a *Schoole*: Chriſts church All *Beleevers* are his *Disciples* or *Scholars*, yea *women* alſo, *Acts* 9.36. his Schoole, and all *Beleevers* *Scholars*.

Have not the *Universities* ſacrilegiouſly ſtole this bleſſed name of Chriſts *Scholars* from his people? Is not the very *Scripture* language it ſelfe become *abſurd*, to wit, to call *Gods* people, eſpecially *Women* (as *Dorcas*) *Scholars*?

Peace. Some will object, how shall the *Scriptures* be brought to light from out of *Popish darknesse*, except these *Schooles of Prophet.* convey them to us?

Truth. I know no *Schooles of Prophets* in the *New Testament*, but the particular *Congregation of Christ Jesus*, 1 Cor 14. And I question whether any thing but Sinne stopt and dried up the current of the *Spirit* in those rare gifts of *tongues* to Gods sons & daughters, serving so admirably both for the understanding of the *Originall Scriptures*, and also for the propagating of the name of *Christ*.

Who knows
but God may
againe powre
forth the gifts
of Tongues?

Tongues at-
tainable out
of Oxford or
Cambridge.

Who knowes but that it may please the *Lord* againe to cloath his people with a spirit of *zeale* and *courage* for the name of *Christ* yea and powre forth those fiery streames againe of *Tongues* and *Prophecie* in the *restauration of Zion*?

If it be not his holy pleasure so to doe, but that his people with daily study and labour must dig to come at the *Originall Fountaines*. Gods people have many wayes (besides the *Universitie*, *lazier* and *Monkish*) to attaine to an excellent measure of the knowledge of those *tongues*.

Mr. Ainsworth

That most despised (while living) and now much honoured Mr. *Ainsworth*, had scarce his Peere amongst a thousand *Academicians* for the *Scripture Originalls*, and yet he scarce set foot within a *Colledge* walls.

CHAP. CVIII.

Peace. I Shall now present you with their 10. Head, viz. concerning the *Magistrates power* in matters of *Doctrine*.

“That which is unjustly ascribed to the *Pope*, is as unjustly ascribed to the *Magistrates*, viz. to have power of making new Articles of Faith, or Rules of Life, or of pressing upon the Churches to give such publike honour to the *Apocrypha* writings, or Homilies of men, as to read them to the people in the roome of the Oracles of God.

Truth. This *Position* simply considered I acknowledge a most holy truth of God, both against the *Pope*, and the *Civill Magistrates* challenge, both pretending to be the *Vicars of Christ Jesus* upon the Earth. Yet two things here I shall propose to consideration.

First, since the *Parliament of England* thrust the *Pope* out of his chaire in *England*, and set downe *King Henry* the 8. and his Successors

fours in the *Popes* roome; establishing them *supreme Governours* of the *Church of England*; since such an absolute government is given by all men to them to be *Guardians* of the first *Table* and *worship of God*; to set up the true *worship*, to suppress all *false*, and that by the power of the *Sword*; and therefore consequently they must judge and determine what the *true* is, and what the *false*.

And since the *Magistrate* is bound (by these *Antibours* principles) to see the *Church*, the *Church* officers and members doe their duty, he must therefore judge what is the *Churches* duty, and when he performs or not performs it, or when she exceeds, so likewise when the *Ministers* performe their duty, or when they exceed it.

And if the *Magistrate* must judge, then certainly by his owne eye, and not by the eyes of others, though assembled in a *National* or *Generall* Councell.

Then also upon his judgement must the people rest, as upon the minde and judgement of *Christ*, or else it must be confest that he hath no such power left him by *Christ* to compell the soules of men in matters of Gods worship.

Secondly, concerning the *Apocrypha* writings and *Homilies* to be urged by the *Magistrate* to be read unto the people as the *Oracles of God*: I aske if the *Homilies of England* contain not in them much pretious and heavenly matter! Secondly, if they were not penned (at least many of them) by excellent men for learning, holinesse, and witnesse of *Christs Truth* incomparable. Thirdly, were they not authorized by that most rare and pious *Prince Ed. 6.* then head of the *Church of England*? With what great solemnity and rejoycing were they received of thousands?

Yet now behold their *children* after them sharply censure them for *Apocrypha* writings and *Homilies* thrust into the roome of the *Word of God*, and so falling into the consideration of a false and counterfeit *Scripture*.

I demand of these worthy men whether a servant of *God* might then lawfully have refused to read or heare such a false *Scripture*?

Secondly, if so, whether *King Edward* might have lawfully commanded such a man to yeeld and submit, or else have persecuted him, yea (according to the Authors principles) whether he ought to have spared him, because after the admonitions of such pious and learned men, this man shall now prove an *Hereticke*, and as an obstinate person sinning against the light of his owne conscience?

King Henry the 8. set down in the Popes chaire in England.

If the Magistrate must punish in Spiritual cases, he must of necessity be judge in Spirituall causes also.

Apocrypha, Common-Prayer and Homilies, precious to our forefathers.

A case.

In this case what shall the *conscience* of the subject doe, awed by the dread of the most High? What shall the *conscience* of the Magistrate doe, zealous for his glorious Reformation, being constantly perswaded by his *Clergy* of his *Lieutenants*hip received from Christ?

Reformations
are fallible.

Bloudy con-
clusions.

Again, what *priviledge* have those worthy servants of God either in *Old* or *New England*, to be exempted from the mistakes, into which those glorious *Worshies* in *K. Edwards* time did fall? and if so, what bloudy *conclusions* are presented to the World, perswading men to plucke up by the *Roots* from the Land of the living, all such as seem in their eyes hereticall or obstinate?

CHAP. CIX.

Peace. **D**EARE *Truth*, What darke and dismall bloudy paths doe we walke in? How is thy name and mine in all ages cried up, yet as an English Flag in a Spanish bottome, not in truth but dangerous treachery and abuse both of *Truth* and *Peace*?

11 Head.

We are now come to the 11 Head which concernes the Magistrates power in worship.

“First, they have power (say they) to reforme things in the worship of God in a Church corrupted, and to establish the pure worship of God, defending the same by the power of the sword against all those who shall attempt to corrupt it.

“For first, the reigning of Idolatry and corruption in Religion is imputed to the want of a King, *Indges* 17.5,6.

“Secondly, Remissenes in Reforming Religion, is a fault imputed to them who suffered the High Places in *Israel* and in *Gallio*, who cared not for such things, *Acts* 18.

“Thirdly, Forwardnesse this way is a duty not only for Kings in the Old Testament, but for Princes under the New, *1 Tim.* 2.2. *Rom.* 13.4. *Esay* 49.23. Neither did the Kings of *Israel* reforme things amisse as types of Christ, but as Civill Magistrates, and so exemplary to all Christians. And here Reformation in Religion is commendable in a Persian King, *Ezra* 7.23. And it is well knowne that remissenes in Princes of Christendome in matters of Religion and Worship (divolving the care thereof only to the Clergy, and so setting the Hornes thereof upon the Churches head) hath been the cause of Antichristian inventions, usurpations and corruptions in the Worship and Temple of God.

“Se

“ Secondly, they have not power to presse upon the Churches, stinted Prayers, or set Liturgies, whether New or Old, Popish, or others under colour of uniformity of Worship, or morall goodness of them both for matter and forme, conceiving our arguments sent to our Brethren in *England* concerning this Question to evince this Truth.

“ Thirdly, they have no power to presse upon the Churches, neither by Law (as hath been said before) nor by Proclamation and command, any sacred significant ceremonies, whether more or lesse, Popish or Jewish rite, or any other device of man, be it never so little in the worship of God, under what colour soever of indifferencie, civility, using them without opinion of sanctity, publicke peace or obedience to righteous Authority, as Surplice, Crosse, kneeling at Sacrament; Salt and Spittle in Baptisme, Holy dayes: They having beene so accursed of God, so abused by man, the imposing of some ever making way for the urging of more, the receiving of some making the conscience bow to the burthen of all.

“ Fourthly, they have not power to governe and rule the acts of worship in the Church of God.

(As it is with a Magistrate in a State, in respect of the acts of those who worship in a Church as in is with a Prince in a Ship, wherein, though he be governour of their persons (else he should not be their Prince) yet is not governour of the actions of the Mariners (then he should be Pilot :) Indeed if the Pilot shall manifestly erre in his action, he may reprove him, and so any other passenger may: Or if he offend against the life and goods of any, he may in due time and place civilly punish him, which no other passenger can doe: For, it is proper to Christ, the Head of the Church, as to prescribe, so to rule the actions of his own worship in the wayes of his servants, *Esay 9.6.7.* The government of the Church is upon his shoulder, which no Civill officer ought to attempt: And therefore Magistrates have no power to limit a Minister either to what he shall preach or pray, or in what manner they shall worship God, lest hereby they shall advance themselves above Christ, and limit his Spirit.

Truth. In this generall Head are proposed two things. First, what the Magistrate ought to doe positively concerning the worship of God.

Secondly, what he may doe in the worship of God.

What he ought to doe is comprised in these particulars.

First, he ought to reforme the worship of God when it is corrupted.

Secondly, he ought to establish a pure worship of God.

Thirdly, he ought to defend it by the sword: he ought to restrain Idolatry by the sword, and to cut off offenders, as former passages have opened.

For the prooffe of this positive part of his duty are propounded three sorts of Scriptures.

First, from the practice of the *Kings of Israel and Judah.*

Secondly, some from the New Testament.

Thirdly, from the practice of *Kings of other Nations.*

Unto which I answer.

The argument
from the Ba-
bylonian and
Persian kings
re-minded.

First, concerning this latter, the *Babylonian and Persian Kings, Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, Darius, Artaxerxes*: I conceive I have sufficiently before proved, that these *Idolatrous Princes* making such *Acts* concerning the God of Israel, whom they did not worship nor know, nor meant so to doe, did onely permit and tolerate, and countenance the *Jewish worship*, and out of strong convictions that this God of Israel was able to doe them good (as well as their owne gods) to bring weath upon them and their Kingdomes, as they beleaved their owne also did, in which respect all the *Kings of the world* may be easily brought to the like: but are no president or patternes for all *Princes and Civill Magistrates in the World*; to chalenge or assume the power of ruling or governing the Church of Christ, and of wearing the spirituall Crowne of the Lord, which he alone weareth in a spirituall way by his Officers and Governours after his owne holy appointment.

Secondly, for those of the New Testament I have (as I beleeeve) fully and sufficiently answered.

So also that prophesie of *Isa. 49.*

The president
of the Kings
and Govern-
ours of Israel
and Judah
examined.

Lastly, however I have often touched those Scriptures produced from the practice of the *Kings of Israel and Judah*: yet because so great a waight of this controversie lyes upon this president of the *Old Testament*, from the duties of this nature enjoined to those *Kings and Governours*, and their practices, obeying or disobeying, accordingly commended or reprov'd. I shall (with the helpe of Christ Iesus, the true King of Israel) declare and demonstrate how weak and

and brittle this supposed *Pillar of Marble* is, to beare up and sustain such a mighty burthen and waight of so many high concernments as are laid upon it. In which I shall evidently prove that the *State of Israel* as a *Nationall State* made up of *Spiritnall* and *Civill power*, so farre as it attended upon the *spiritnall*, was meerly figurative and typing out the *Christian Churches* consisting of both *Jewes* and *Gentiles*, enjoying the true power of the *Lord Iesus*, establishing, reforming, correcting, defending in all cases concerning his *Kingdome* and *Government*.

The State of Israel relating to Spirituall matters proved typical.

CHAP. CX.

Peace. Blessed be the *God of Truth*, the *God of Peace*, who hath so long preserved us in this our retired conference without interruptions: His mercy still shields us while you expresse and I listen to that so much imitated, yet most unimitable *State of Israel*.

Yet before you descend to particulars (deare Truth) let me cast one *Mite* into your great *Treasury* concerning that Instance (just now mentioned) of the *Persian Kings*.

Me thinks those *presidents* of *Cyrus*, *Darius* and *Artaxerxes* are strong against *New Englands Tenent and practice*. Those *Princes* professedly gave free permission and bountifull encouragement to the *Consciencs* of the *Jewes*, to use and practise their *Religion*, which *Religion* was most eminently contrary to their owne *Religion* and their *Countries* worship.

The Persian Kings make evidently against such as produce them for maintenance of the doctrine of persecution.

Truth. I shall (sweet Peace) with more delight passe on these rough wayes, from your kinde acceptance and unwearied patience in attention.

In this discovery of that vast and mighty difference betweene that *State of Israel* and all other *States* (onely to bee matched and parallel'd by the *Christian Church* or *Israel*) I shall select some maine and principall considerations concerning that *State* wherein the irreconcilable differences and disproportion may appeare.

First, I shall consider the very *Land* and *Country* of *Canaan* it selfe, and present some considerations proving it to be a *None such*.

First, this *Land* was espyed out and chosen by the *Lord* out of all the *Countries* of the *World* to be the seat of his *Church* and people, *Ezek. 20. 6*.

The Land of Canaan chosen by God to be the seat of the Church, but under the New Testament all Nations alike.

But now there is no respect of *Earth*, of *Places* or *Countries* with the *Lord*: So testified the *Lord Iesus Christ* himselfe to the

woman of *Samaria* (*Iohn 4*) professing that neither at that *Mountain* nor at *Ierusalem* should men worship the Father.

While that Nationall State of the Church of the *Iewes* remained, the Tribes were bound to goe up to *Ierusalem* to worship, *Psal. 122*. But now, in every Nation (not the whole Land or Country as it was with Canaan) he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with him, *Act. 10. 35*. This then appeared in that large Commission of the Lord *Iesus* to his first Ministers: Goe into all Nations, and not onely into Canaan, to carry tidings of Mercy, &c.

Secondly, the former Inhabitants thereof, seven great and mighty Nations (*Deuter. 7*.) were all devored to destruction by the Lords owne mouth, which was to bee performed by the impartiall hand of the Children of Israel, without any sparing or shewing Mercy.

The inhabitants of Canaans Land every soule to be put to death that the Israelites might enjoy their possessions: not so now.

But so now it hath not pleased the Lord to devote any people to present Destruction, commanding his people to kill and slay without Covenant or Compassion, *Deuteronomy 7. 2*.

Where have Emperours, Kings, or Generals an immediate call from God to destroy whole Cities, City after City, Men, women, Children, Old and Young, as *Ioshua* practised? *Ioshua 6*, and *10*, Chapters, &c.

This did Israel to these seven Nations, that they themselves might succeed them in their Cities, Habitations, and Possessions.

This onely is true in a spirituall Antitype, when Gods people by the Sword (the two-edged Sword of Gods Spirit) slay the ungodly and become Heires, yea fellow Heires with Christ *Iesus*, *Romanes 8*. Gods meeke people inherit the earth, (*Matthew 5*.) They mystically like *Noah* (*Hebrees 11*) condemne the whole unbelieving World, both by present and future sentence, *2 Corinth. 6. 2*.

CHAP. CXI.

Thirdly, the very materials, the Gold and Silver of the Idols of this Land were odious and abominable, and dangerous to the people of Israel, that they might not desire it, nor take it to themselves,

selves, *Deut. 7. 25. 26.* left themselves also become a *curse*, and like unto those cursed abominable things. Whereas we finde not any such accursed *nature* in the *materials* of *Idols* or *Images* now, but that (the *Idolatrous formes* being changed) the *silver* and *gold* may be cast and coyned, and other *materialls* lawfully employed and used.

Yet this we finde in the *Antitype*, that *gold*, *silver*, yea *house*, *land*, yea *wives*, *children*, yea *life* it selfe, as they allure and draw us from *God* in *Christ*, are to be abominated and hated by us, without which *hated* and *indignation* against the most plausible and pleasing enticings from *CHRIST JESUS*, it is impossible for any man to bee a true *Christian*, *Luke 14. 26.*

Fourthly, this Land, this *Earth* was an *Holy land*, *Zach. 2. 12.* Ceremonially and typically *holy*, *Fields*, *Gardens*, *Orchards*, *Houses*, &c. which *Holines* the World knowes not now in one *Land*, or *Country*, *House*, *Field*, *Garden*, &c. one above another.

Yet in the Spirituall *Land* of *Canaan* the *Christian Church*, all things are made holy and pure (in all Lands) to the pure, *Tit. 1.* meats and drinks are sanctified, that is, dedicated to the holy use of the thankfull *Believers*, *1 Tim. 4.* yea and the *unbelieving Husband*, *Wife*, and their *Children* are sanctified and made holy to *Believers*, inasmuch that that golden inscription (peculiar to the forehead of the *High Priest*) *Holines* to *Jehovah*, shall be written upon the very *Bridles* of the *Horses*, as all are dedicated to the service of *Christ*, *Jesus* in the Gospels peace and holines.

Fifthly, the Lord expressly calls it his own Land, *Levit. 25. 23.* The Land of *Hos. 9. 3* *Jehovah* his Land, a terme proper unto Spirituall *Canaan*, the Church of *God*, which must needs be in respect of his choice of that Land to be the Seate and Residence of his Church and Ordinances.

But now the partition wall is broken down, and in respect of the *Lords* (speciall proprietie to one Country more then another, what difference between *Asia* and *Africa*, between *Europe* and *America*, between *England* and *Turkey*, *London* and *Constantinople*?

This Land (among many other glorious *Titles* given to it) was called *Emanuel's* land, that is, *God* with us, *Christ* his land, or *Christian* land, *Isa. 8. 8.*

But now: *Jerusalem* from above is not materiall and Earthly,

The very materiall gold & silver of *Canaan's* Images typically to be abhorred.

The Land of *Canaan* ceremonially holy.

Greater holynesse in the Antitype under the Gospel, then in the types under the Law.

The Land of *Canaan* *Jehovah's* Land.

Emanuel's Land: so no Land or country more then another.

but Spirituall, *Gal. 4. Heb. 12.* *Materiall Jerusalem* is no more the *Lords citie* then *Jericho*, *Ninivie*, or *Babell* (in respect of place or Countrey) for even at *Babell* literall was a *Church* of *Iesus Christ*, *1 Pet. 5.*

It is true that *Antichrist* hath christned all those *Countries* where-on the *Whore* sitteth, *Revel 17.* with the Title of *Christ's land*, or *Christian land*.

The Blasphemous titles of the Christned and Christian World.

And *Hundius*, in his *Map* of the *Christian World*, makes this land to extend to all *Asia*, a great part of *Africa*, all *Europe*, and a vast part of *America*, even so farre as his *unchristian Christenings* hath gone. But as every false *Christ* hath false *Teachers*, false *Christians*, false *Faith*, *Hope*, *Love*, &c. and in the end false *Salvation*, so doth he also counterfeit the false Name of *Christ*, *Christians*, *Christian land* or *Countrey*.

Sixthly, this Land was to keep her *Sabbaths* unto *God*: Sixe yeares they were to sow their *Fields*, and prune their *Vines*, but in the 7. yeare they were not to sow their *Fields*, nor prune their *Vineyards*, but to eat that which grew of it selfe or own accord.

The materiall Land of Canaan was to keep her Sabbaths, so no materiall land or Countrey row. God feedeth his sometimes immediately.

But such *Observations* doth not *God* now lay upon any *Fields*, *Vineyards*, &c. under the *Gospel*.

Yet in the *Spirituall land* of *Canaan*, the true *Church*, there is a *Spirituall Soule-rest* or *Sabbath*, a quiet depending upon *God*, a living by *Faith* in him, a making him our *portion*, and casting all care upon him who careth for us: yea sometimes he feedeth his by immediate gracious workes of *Providence*, when comforts arise out of the *Earth*, without secondary meanes or causes, as here, or as elsewhere *Manna* descended from *Heaven*.

Seventhly, such portions and possessions of *Lands*, *Fields*, *Houses*, *Vineyards*, were sold with *caution* or *proviso* of returning againe in the yeare of *Jubilee* to the right owners, *Levit. 25. 23.*

Such *cautions*, such *provisos* are not now injoynd by *God* in the sale of *lands*, *fields*, *inheritances*, nor no such *Jubilee* or *Redemption* to be expected.

The Jubilee of Canaan a type of restitution and redemption in the Gospel.

Yet this also finds a fulfilling in the *spirituall Canaan*, or *Church* of *God*, unto which the *silver Trumpet* of *Jubilee*, the *Gospel*, hath founded a *spirituall restitution* of all their *spirituall rights* and *inheritances*, which either they have lost in the fall of the first man *Adam*, or in their particular falls, when they are captive and sold unto sin, *Rom. 7.* Or lastly in the *spirituall captivity* of *Babels bondage*: how sweet

sweet then is the name of a *Saviour*, in whom is the joyfull sound of *Deliverance* and *Redemption*!

Eighty, this Land or Country was a figure or type of the kingdom of *Heaven* above, begun here below in the *Church* and *Kingdom* of *God*, *Heb. 4. 8. Heb. 11. 9. 10.* Hence was a *Birthright* so precious in *Canaans* Land; Hence *Naboth* so inexorable and resolute in refusing to part with his Inheritance to King *Ahab*, counting all *Ahabs* seeming reasonable offers most unreasonable, as soliciting him to part with a *Garden* plot of *Canaans* land, though his refusall cost him his very life.

What Land, what Country now is *Israels* Parallel and Antitype, but that holy mysticall Nation the *Church* of *God*, peculiar and called out to him out of every Nation and Country, *1 Pet. 2. 9.* In which every true spirituall *Naboth* hath his spirituall inheritance, which he dares not part with, though it be to his King or Sovereigne, and though such his refusall cost him this present life.

CHAP. CXII.

Peace. Doublesse that *Canaan* Land was not a patterne for all Lands: It was a none-such, unparallelled and unmatched.

Truth. Many other considerations of the same nature I might annex, but I picke here and there a flowre, and passe on to a second Head concerning the people themselves, wherein the state of the people shall appeare unmatched, but only by the true Church and *Israel* of *God*.

First, the people of *Israel* were all the Seed or Off-spring of one man *Abraham*, *Psal. 105. 6.* and so downward the Seed of *Isaac* and *Jacob*, hence called the *Israel* of *God*, that is, *wrestlers* and *pre-ailers* with *God*, distinguished into twelve Tribes all sprung out of *Israels* loynes.

But now, few Nations of the World but are a mixed Seed, the people of *England* especially the *Britaines*, *Pelts*, *Romanes*, *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans*, by a wonderfull providence of *God* being become one *English* people.

Only the Spirituall *Israel* and Seed of *God* the New-borne are out one: *Christ* is the Seed, *Gal. 3.* and they only that are *Christis* are only *Abrahams* Seed and Heires according to the promise. Only made good in the Spirituall seed, the regenerate or new-borne.

This Spirituall Seed is the only Antitype of the former figurative and

Canaans land a type of the Kingdom of *God* on Earth and in Heaven

Why *Naboth* refused to part with a *Garden* plot to his King, upon hazard of his life.

The difference of the people of *Israel* and all other Peoples.

The people of *Israel* the seed of one man.

and typical: A *Seed* which all *Christians* ought to propagate, yea even the *unmarried* men and women (who are not capable of *naturall off spring*) for thus is this called the *Seed of Christ* (who lived and died unmarried) *Iſa. 59. 21.*

Secondly, this people was selected and separated to the *Lord*, his *Covenant* and *Worſhip* from all the *people* and *Nations* of the *World* beside to be his peculiar and onely people, *Levit. 20. 26. &c.*

The people of
Israel separate
from all Nati-
ons in Spiritu-
all and in some
Civill things.

Therefore such as returned from *Babylon* to *Jerusalem*, they separated themselves to eat the *Paſſeover*, *Ezra 6* And in that ſolemne *humiliation* and *confeſſion* before the *Lord*, *Nehem. 9.* the children of *Israel* separated themselves from all *ſtrangers*.

This separation of theirs was ſo famous, that it extended not only to *Circumciſion*, the *Paſſeover*, and matters of *Gods worſhip*, but even to *temporall* and *civill* things: Thus *Ezra 9*) they separated or put away their very wives, which they had taken of the ſtrange *Nations* contrary to the *Commandement* of the *Lord*.

No Nation ſo
ſeparated to
God in the
Goſpel, but
only the new-
borne *Israel*
that feare *God*
in every Nati-
on.

But where hath the *God* of *Heaven* in the *Goſpel* ſeparated whole *Nations* or *Kingdomes* (*Engliſh*, *Scotch*, *Iriſh*, *French*, *Dutch*, &c.) as a peculiar people and *Antitype* of the people of *Israel*? Yea where the leaſt footing in all the *Scripture* for a *Nationall Church* after *Chriſts* coming?

Can any people in the *world* patterne this ſamplar but the *Newborne Israel*, ſuch as feare *God* in every *Nation* (*Acts 10. 35.*) commanded to come forth and ſeparate from all uncleane things or perſons, (*2 Cor. 6.*) and though not bound to put away ſtrange wives as *Israel* did, becauſe of that peculiar reſpect upon them in *Civill* things, yet to be holy or ſet apart to the *Lord* in all manner of *civill converſation*, *1 Pet. 1.* Only to marry in the *Lord*, yea and to marry as if they married not *1 Cor. 7.* yea to hate *miſe* and *children*, *father*, *mother*, *houſe* and *land*, yea and life it ſelfe for the *Lord Jeſus*, *Luc. 14.*

The whole
people of *Isra-
el* miraculo-
ſly brought
forth of *Egypt*.

Thirdly, this *Seed* of *Abraham* thus ſeparate from all people unto the *Lord* was wonderfully redeemed and brought from *Egypt*s bondage through the *Red Sea*, and the *Wilderneſſe* unto the *Land* of *Canaan*, by many ſtrange ſignes and wonderfull miracles, wrought by the outſtretched hand of the *Lord*, famous and dreadfull, and to be admired by all ſucceeding peoples and generations; *Deut. 4. 32, 33, 34.* Aſke now from one ſide of the *Heaven* unto the other, whether there hath been ſuch a thing as this, &c?

And we may aske againe from one side of the Heavens unto the other whether the Lord hath now so miraculously redeemed and brought unto *Himselfe* any *Nation* or people as he did this people of Israel.

Not so any whole Nation now.

Peace. The *English, Scotch, Dutch, &c.* are apt to make themselves the parallels, as wonderfully come forth of Popery, &c.

Truth. 1. But first, whole Nations are no Churches under the Gospel.

Secondly, bring the *Nations* of *Europe* professing *Protestanisme* to the ballance of the *Sanctuary*, and ponder well whether the *body*, *bulke*, the generall or one hundreth part of such peoples be truly turned to God from Popery.

Popery not so fitly turned from is conceived.

Who knowes not how easie it is to turne, and turne, and turn againe whole *Nations* from one *Religion* to another?

Who knowes not that within the compasse of one poore *span* of 12 yeares revolution, all *England* hath become from halfe *Papist*, halfe *Protestant*, to be absolute *Protestants*; from absolute *Protestants*, to absolute *Papists*; from absolute *Papists* (changing as fashions) to absolute *Protestants*?

Wonderfull turnings in Religion in 12 yeares compasse in England.

I will not say (as some worthy witnesses of *Christ* have uttered) that all *England* and *Europe* must againe submit their faire necks to the *Popes* yoke: But this, I say, many *Scriptures* concerning the destruction of the *Beast* and the *Whore* looke that way: And I adde, they that feeble the pulse of the people seriously must confesse that a *victorious Sword*, and a *Spanish Inquisition* will soone make millions of people as they were in the *Fore-Fathers* times.

The Pope not unlike to recover his Monarchie over Europe before his downfall.

CHAP. CXIII.

Peace. O That the *Steersmen* of the *Nations* might remember this, Bee wise and kisse the Sonne, lest he goe on in his His dreadfull anger, and dash them in peeces here and eternally.

Truth. I therefore thirdly adde, That only such as are *Abrahams* seed, *circumcised* in Heart, *New-borne Israel* (or *wrasslers with God*) are the *Antitype* of the former *Israel*, these are only the holy *Nation* (the true Seed of *Abraham*, *Pet. 2.*) wonderfully redeemed from the *Egypt* of this *World* (*Pet. 2. 14.*) brought through the *Red Sea* of *Baptisme* (*1 Cor. 10.*) through the wilderness of *afflictions*, and of the peoples (*Deut. 8.*)

Who are now the true Seed of Abraham.

Ezek. 20.) into the *Kingdome of Heaven* begun below, even that *Christian Land of Promise*, where flow the everflowing *streames* and *Rivers of Spirituall milke* and *honey*.

Fourthly, All this people universally (in typicall and ceremoni-
all respect) were holy and cleane in this their *separation* and *seque-*
stration unto God, *Exod. 19. 5.* Hence, even in respect of their na-
turall birth in that Land they were an *holy Seed*, and *Ezra* makes it
the matter of his great complaint, *Ezra 9. 1. 2.* The holy Seed have
mingled themselves.

The people of
Israel all holy
in a typicall
holinesse.

But where is now that *Nation* or *Country* upon the face of the
Earth, thus cleane and holy unto God; and bound to so many cere-
moniall cleansings and purgings?

Are not all the *Nations* of the *Earth* alike cleane unto God, or
rather alike uncleane, untill it pleaseth the *Father of mercies* to call
some out to the *Knowledge* and *Grace* of his Sonne, making them to
see their filthinesse and strangenesse from the *Commonweale of Israel*,
and to wash in the blood of the *Lambe of God*.

All Nations
now alike since
the comming
of the Lord
Jesus.

This taking away the difference between *Nation* and *Nation*,
Country and *Country*, is most fully and admirably declared in that
great vision of all sorts of living creatures presented unto *Peter*,
Acts 10. whereby it pleased the Lord to informe *Peter* of the abo-
lishing of the difference between *Jew* and *Gentile* in any holy or un-
holy, cleane or uncleane respect.

The children
of Israel a fi-
gure of the Is-
rael or people
of God only
under the Gos-
pel.

Fifthly, (not only to speake of all, but to select one or two more)
This people of *Israel* in that Nationall State were a type of all the
Children of God in all ages under the profession of the *Gospel*, who
are therefore called the Children of *Abraham*, and the *Israel* of
God, *Gal. 3. & Gal. 6.* A Kingly Priesthood and holy Nation (*1 Pet.*
2. 9.) in a cleare and manifest *Antitype* to the former *Israel*, *Exod.*
19. 6.

Hence *Christians* now are figuratively in this respect called
Jewes, *Rev. 3.* where lies a cleare distinction of the true and false
Christian under the consideration of the true and false Jew: Behold
I will make them of the Synagogue of *Sathan* that say they are
Jewes and are not, but doe lie, *Rev. 3.* But such a typicall respect
we finde not now upon any People, *Nation* or *Country* of the
whole *World*: But out of all *Nations*, *Tongues* and *Languages* is
God pleased to call some and redeem them to Himselfe (*Rev. 5. 9.*)

And hath made no difference betweene the *Jewes* and *Gentiles*.

Greeks

Greekes and Scythians, Gal. 3. who by Regeneration or second birth, become the Israel of God, Gal. 6. the Temple of God, 1 Cor. 3. and the true Jerusalem, Heb. 12.

Lastly, all this whole Nation or people, as they were of one typical seed of Abraham, & sealed with a shamefull & painfull Ordinance of cutting off the fore-skin, w^{ch} differenced them from all the World beside: So also were they bound to such and such solemnities of figurative worships. Amongst many others I shall end this passage concerning the people with a famous observation out of Numb. 9. 13. viz. All that whole Nation was bound to celebrate and keepe the Feast of the Passeeover in his season, or else they were to be put to death. But doth God require a whole Nation, Country or Kingdome now thus to celebrate the spirituall Passeeover, the Supper and Feast of the Lambe Christ Jesus, at such a time once a yeare, and that whosoever shall not so doe shall bee put to death? What horrible prophanations, what grosse hypocrisies, yea what wonderfull desolations (sooner or later) must needs follow upon such a course?

Tis true, the people of Israel, brought into covenant with God in Abraham, and so successively borne in Covenant with God, might (in that state of a Nationall Church) solemnly covenant and sweare that whosoever would not seeke Jehovah the God of Israel, should be put to death, 2 Chron. 15. whether small or great, whether man or woman,

But may whole Nations or Kingdomes now (according to any one title exprest by Christ Jesus to that purpose) follow that patterne of Israel and put to death all, both men and women, great and small, that according to the rules of the Gospel are not borne againe, penitent, humble, heavenly, patient? &c. What a world of hypocrisie from hence is practised by thousands, that for feare will stoope to give that God their bodies in a forme, whom yet in truth their hearts affect not?

Yea also what a world of prophanation of the holy Name and holy Ordinances of the Lord in prostituting the holy things of God (like the Vessels of the Sanctuary, Dan. 5.) to prophane, impenitent and unregenerate persons?

Lastly, what slaughters both of men and women must this necessarily bring into the world, by the Insurrections and Civill Warres about Religion and Conscience? Yea what slaughters of the innocent and faithfull witnesses of Christ Jesus, who choose to bee

The people of Israel different from all the world in their figurative and ceremonial worships.

Israel Gods only Church might well renew that Nationall Covenant and ceremonial worship which other Nations cannot imitate.

The hypocrisies, prophanations, and slaughters which such imitation now in the Gospel produce.

shine all the day long for Christ his sake, and to fight for their Lord and Master Christ, onely with spirituall and Christian weapons ?

CHAP. CXIV.

Peace. IT seemes (deare *Truth*) a mighty *Gulfe* betweene that people and Nation, and the *Nations* of the world then extant and ever since.

Truth. As sure as the blessed substance to all those shadowes, *Christ Iesus* is come, so unmatchable and never to bee paralleled by any *Nationall* State was that *Israel* in the *Figure* or *Shadow*

And yet the *Israel* of God now, the *Regenerate* or *Newborne*; the circumeised in *Heart* by *Repentance* and *Mortification*, who willingly submit unto the *Lord Iesus* as their onely *King* and *Head*, may fely parallell and answer that *Israel* in the type, without such danger of *hypocrisie*, of such horrible *prophanations*, and of firing the *Civill State* in such bloody *combustions*, as all *Ages* have brought forth upon this compelling a whole *Nation* or *Kingdome* to be the *antitype* of *Israel*.

Peace. Were this *Light* entertained, some hopes would shine forth for my returne and *restauration*.

Truth. I have yet to adde a third *consideration* concerning the *Kings* and *Governours* of that Land and people.

They were to be (unlesse in their *captivities*) of their *Brethren*, members of the true *Church* of God; as appears in the *History* of *Moses*, the *Elders* of *Israel*, and the *Judges* and *Kings* of *Israel* afterward.

But first, who can deny but that there may be now many lawfull *Governours*, *Magistrates* and *Kings* in the *Nations* of the World, where is no true *Church* of *Iesus Christ* ?

Secondly, we know the many excellent *gifts* where with it hath pleased God to furnish many, inabling them for publike service to their *Countries* both in *Peace* and *War* (as all *Ages* and *Experience* testifies) on whose soules hee hath not yet pleased to shine in the face of *Iesus Christ*: which *Gifts* and *Talents* must all lye buried in the *Earth*, unlesse such persons may lawfully be called and chosen to, and improved in *publike service*, notwithstanding their different or contrary *Conscience* and *Worship*.

Thirdly, if none but true *Christians*, members of *Christ Iesus* might be *Civill Magistrates*, and publicly intrusted with *civill affaires*, then

The difference of the Kings and Governours of Israel from all Kings & Governours of the world. First, they were all members of the Church. Excellent Talents vouchsafed by God to regenerate persons.

A doctrine, contrary to all true Piety and Humanity in it selfe.

then none but *members of Churches, Christians* should be *Husbands of Wives, Fathers of Children, Masters of Servants*: But against this doctrine the whole creation, the whole World may justly rise up in armes, as not onely contrary to true *Piety*, but common *Humanity* it selfe. For if a *Commonweale* bee lawfull amongst men that have not heard of *God* nor *Christ*, certainly their *Officers, Ministers, and Governours* must be lawfull also.

Fourthly, it is notoriously knowne to be the dangerous doctrine profest by some *Papists*, that *Princes* degenerating from their Religion, and turning *Hereticks*, are to be deposed, and their *Subjects* actually discharged from their obedience. Which doctrine all such must necessarily hold (however most loath to owne it) that hold the *Magistrate* Guardian of both *Tables*, and consequently such an one as is inatled to judge, yea and to demonstrate to all men the worship of *God*: yea and being thus *Governor* and *Head* of the *Church* he must necessarily be a part of it himselfe: which when by *Heresie* he falls from (though it may be by *Truth*, miscalled *Heresie*) he falls from his calling of *Magistracy*, and is utterly disabled from his (pretended) *guardianship* and *government* of the *Church*.

Lastly, we may remember the practice of the *Lord Iesus* and his followers, commanding and practising obedience to the *Higher Powers*, though we finde not one *Civill Magistrate* a *Christian* in all the first *Churches*. But contrarily the *civill Magistrate* at that time was the bloody *Beast*, made up (as *Daniel* seemes to imply concerning the *Romane State*, Dan. 7. 7.) of the *Lion*, the *Beare*, and the *Leopard*, Rev. 13. 2.

CHAP. CXV.

Peace. BY these waights wee may try the waight of that commonly received and not questioned opinion, viz. That the *civill state* and the *spirituall*, the *Church* and *Commonweale*, they are like *Hippocrates* twinnes, they are borne together, grow up together, laugh together, weepe together, sicken and die together. *Truth.* A witty, yet a most dangerous *Fiction* of the *Father of Lies*, who hardned in *Rebellion* against *God*, perswades *Gods* people to drinke downe such deadly poison, though he knowes the truth of these five particulars, which I shall reminde you of.

First, many flourishing *States* in the *World* have beene and are at this day, which heare not of *Iesus Christ*, and therefore have not

The *Papists* doctrine of deposing *Magistrates* confessed in effect to be true by the *Protestants*.

No civill *Magistrate* *Christian* in *Christis* time.

Five demonstrative arguments proving the unsoundnesse of that Maxime: The *Church* and *Commonwealth* are like *Hippocrates* twins. Many flourishing *States* without a true *Church*.

the presence and concurrence of a Church of Christ with them.

Many of Gods
people faire
off from a true
Church state.

Secondly, there have beene many thousands of Gods people, who in their personall estate and life of grace were awake to God, but in respect of Church estate they knew no other then a Church of dead stones, the Parish Church; or though some light be of late come in through some cranny, yet they seeke not after, or least of all are joyned to any true Church of God, consisting of living and beleeving stones.

Yet fit for ci-
vill services.

So that by these *New English Ministers* principles, not onely is the doore of calling to *Magistracy* shut against *naturall* and unregenerate men (though excellently fitted for *civill* offices) but also against the best and ablest servants of God, except they be entred into Church estate; so that thousands of Gods owne people (excellently qualified) not knowing, or not entering into such a Church estate, shall not be accounted fit for *civill* services.

Gods people
permitted and
favoured by
Idolaters.

Thirdly, admit that a *civill* Magistrate be neither a member of a true Church of Christ (if any bee in his dominions) nor in his person feare God, yet may he (possibly) give free permission without molestation, yea and sometimes encouragement and assistance to the service and Church of God. Thus wee finde *Abrahams* permitted to build and set up an *Altar* to his God wheresoever hee came amongst the idolatrous Nations in the Land of *Canaan*. Thus *Cyrus* proclaims liberty to all the people of God in his Dominions, freely to goe up and build the Temple of God at *Jerusalem*, and *Artaxerxes* after him confirmed it.

Christs church
gathered and
governed with
out the helpe
of an arme of
flesh.

Thus the *Romane Emperours* and *Governours* under him permitted the Church of God the *Jewes* in the *Lord Christs* time, their Temple and Worship, although in *Civill* things they were subject to the *Romans*.

Fourthly, the Scriptures of Truth and the Records of Time concur in this, that the first Churches of Christ *Iesus*, the *lights*, *paternes* and *presidents* to all succeeding Ages, were gathered and governed without the aid, assistance, or countenance of any *Civill* Authority, from which they suffered great persecutions for the name of the *Lord Iesus* professed amongst them.

The Nations, *Rulers*, and *Kings* of the Earth tumultuously rage against the *Lord* and his Anointed, *Psal.* 2. 1. 2. Yet *vers.* 6. it hath pleased the Father to set the *Lord Iesus* King upon his holy Hill of *Zion*.

Christ

Christ Jesus would not be pleased to make use of the *Civill Magistrate* to assist him in his *Spirituall Kingdome* : nor would he yet be daunted or discouraged in his Servants by all their *threats* and *terrors* : for *Love* is strong as *death*, and the coales thereof give a most vehement *flame*, and are not quenched by all the waters and *floods* of mightiest opposition, *Cant. 8.*

Christ's Church is like a chaste and loving wife, in whose heart is fixed her *Husbands love*, who hath found the tenderness of his love towards her, and hath been made fruitfull by him, and therefore seekes she not the *smiles*, nor feares the *frownes* of all the *Emperours* in the *World* to bring her *Christ* unto her, or keep him from her.

Lastly, we finde in the tyrannicall usurpations of the *Romish Antichrist*, the 10 hornes (which some of good note conceive to be the 10 Kingdomes, into which the *Romane Empire* was quattered and divided) are expressly said *Revel. 17. 13.* to have one minde to give their power and strength unto the *Beast*, yea (*ver. 17.*) their *Kingdome* unto the *Beast*, untill the Words of *God* shall be fulfilled; whence it followes, that all those *Nations* that are guiled with the name of *Christ*, have under that *mask* or *vizard* (as some *Executioners* and *Tormentors* in the *Inquisition* use to torment) persecuted the *Lord Jesus Christ*, either with a more open, grosse and bloody, or with a more subtile, secret and gentle violence.

Let us cast our eyes about, turne over the *Records*, and examine the experience of past and present *Generations*, and see if all particular *observations* amount not to this summe, viz. that the great *whore* hath committed fornication with the *Kings* of the *Earth*, and made drunke thereof *Nations* with the cup of the wine of her *fornications* : In which *drunkenness* and *whoredome* (as *whores* use to practice) she hath robbed the *Kings* and *Nations* of their power and strength, and (*Isabel* like) having procured the *Kings names* and *seales*, she drinks drunk, *Revel. 17.* with the blood of *Naboth*, who (because he dares not part with his rightfull inheritance in the land of *Canaan*, the blessed land of promise and salvation in *Christ*) as a *Traitor* to the *civill State*, and *Blasphemer* against *God*, she (under the colour of a day of *humiliation* in *Prayer* and *Fasting*) stones to death.

Christ's true spouse chaste and faithfull to *Christ Jesus* in the midst of feares or favours from the *World*.

The 10 hornes, *Revel. 13. & 17.*

The great myserie of Persecution unfolded.

Christian Nations both slaughtered.

Peace. **D**eare *Truth*, how art thou hidden from the eyes of men in these *mysteries*? how should men weep abundantly with *Iohn*, that the *Lambe* may please to open these blessed *seales* unto them?

Truth. O that Men more prized their makers feare! then should they be more acquainted with their *Makers* counsell, for his *Secrete* is with them that feare him, *Psal.* 25.

2. Difference.

I passe on to a second *Difference*.

The mysterie
of the anoin-
ting the Kings
of Israel and
Judah.

The *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah* were all solemnly annointed with oyle, *Psal.* 39. 20. *I have found David my servant, with my holy Oile have I annointed him.* Whence the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah* were honoured with that mysticall and glorious Title of the *Anointed*, or *Christ* of the *Lord*, *Lam.* 4. 20. the *Breath* of our *Nostrils*, the *Anointed* of *Iehovah* was taken in their pits, &c.

Which anoynting and title, however the *Man* of *Sinne*, together with the *Crowne* and *Diademe* of *Spirituall Israel*, the *Church* of *God*, he hath given to some of the *Kings* of the *Earth*, that so he may in lieu thereof dispose of their *Civill* *Crownes* the easier; yet shall we finde it an incommunicable priviledge and prerogative of of the *Saints* and people of *God*.

For as the *Lord Iesus* himselfe in the *Antitype* was not annointed with materiall but *spirituall* oyle, *Psal.* 45. with the oyle of *Gladnes*, and *Luke* 4. 14. from *Isa.* 61. 1. with the *Spirit* of *God*. The *Spirit* of the *Lord* is upon me, the *Lord* hath annointed me to preach good tidings; &c. So also all his members are annointed with the holy *Spirit* of *God*, 2 *Cor.* 1. 21. & 1 *John* 2.

The Name
Christian or
Anointed.

Hence is it that *Christians* rejoyce in that name, as carrying the very expresse title of the *Anointed* of the *Lord*; which most superstitiously and sacrilegiously hath been applied only unto *Kings*.

A Sacrilegious
Monopole of
the Name
Christian.

Peace. O deare *Truth*, how doth the great *Searcher* of all *Hearts* finde out the thefts of the *Antichristian* World? how are men caried in the darke they know not whither? How is that heavenly charge, *Touch not mine Anointed*, &c. (*Psal.* 105.) common to all *Christians* (or annointed with) *Christ* their Head, by way of *Monopely* or priviledge appropriated to *Kings* and *Princes*?

Truth. It will not be here unseasonable to call to minde that admirable

mirable *Prophecie*, Ezek. 21. 26, 27. Thus saith *Jebovab God*, Remove the *Diadem*, take away the *Crowne*, this shall not be the same, exalt him that is low, and abase him that is high: I will overturne, overturne, untill he come whose right it is, and I will give it him. The matter is a *Crown* and *Diadem* to be taken from an *Usurpers* head, and set upon the head of the right *Owner*.

The Crowne
of Christs
Kingly power.

Peace. Doublesse this mystically intends the spirituall Crowne of the Lord *Jesus*, for these many hundreth yeares set upon the heads of the *Competitours* and *Corrivals* of the Lord *Jesus*, upon whose glorious head in his *Messengers* and *Churches*, the *Crown* shall be established; The anointing, the title, and the crown and power must returne to the Lord *Jesus* in his *Saints*; unto whom alone belongs his power and authoritie in *Ecclesiasticall* or *Spirituall* cases.

CHAP. CXVII.

Truth. I Therefore proceed to a third difference between those *Kings* and *Governours* of *Israel* and *Judah*, and all other *Kings* and *Rulers* of the *Earth*. Looke upon the Administrations of the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*, and well weigh the *Power* and *Authoritie* which those *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah* exercised in *Ecclesiasticall* and *Spirituall* causes, and upon a due search we shall not find the same *Scepter* of *Spirituall* power in the hand of *Civill* *Authoritie*, which was settled in the hands of the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*.

3. The Kings
of Israel and
Judah invested
with a Spiritu-
all power.

David appointed the *Orders* of the *Priests* & *Singers*, he brought the *Arke* to *Jerusalem*, he prepared for the building of the *Temple*, the *patterne* whereof he delivered to *Salomon*: yet *David* herein could not be a type of the *Kings* and *Rulers* of the *Earth*, but of the *King* of *Heaven*, *Christ* *Jesus*: for,

First, *David*, as he was a *King*, so was he also a *Prophet*, *Acts* 2. 30. and therefore a type (as *Moses* also was, of that great *Prophet* the *Son* of *God*. And they that plead for *Dauids* *Kingly* power, must also by the same rule plead for his *Propheticall*, by which he layed the *Scepter* of *Israel* in *Church* affaires.

Secondly, it is expressly said, *1 Cron.* 28. 11. 12. 13. verses, that the *patterne* which *David* gave to *Salomon* (concerning the matter of the *Temple* and *Worship* of *God*) he had it by the *Spirit*, which was no other but a figure of the immediate inspiration of the *spirit* of *God*, unto the Lord *Jesus* the true *Spirituall* *King* of *Israel*, *John*. 1. Church mat.

David immo-
ately inspired
by the *Spirit*
of *God*, in his
ordering of
Church mat-
ters.

49. *Rabbi*, thou art the Son of God; *Rabbi*, thou art the King of Israel.

Salomon's de-
posing Abia-
thar (1 Kings
2.26.27) dis-
cussed.

Again, What Civill Magistrate may now act as *Salomon* (a type of *Christ*) doth act, 1 King. 2.26.27. ? *Salomon* thrust out *Abiathar* from being *Priest* unto *Iehovah*.

Peace. Some object that *Abiathar* was a man of death, ver. 26. worthy to die, as having followed *Adonijah*; and therefore *Salomon* executed no more then Civill justice upon him.

Salomon his
putting Abia-
thar from the
Priesthood,
examined.

Truth. *Salomon* remits the Civill punishment, and inflicts upon him a *spirituall*: but by what right, but as he was King of the Church, a figure of *Christ*?

Abiathar his Life is spared with respect to his former good service in following after *David*; but yet he is turned out from the Priesthood.

A case put up-
on occasion of
Abiathars
case.

But now put the case: suppose that any of the Officers of the New-England Churches should prove false to the State, and be discovered joyning with a *French Monsieur*, or *Spanish Don*, (thirsting after conquest and dominion) to further their invasions of that Countrey; yet for some former faithfull service to the State, he should not be adjudged to Civill punishment: I aske now, might their Governours or their Generall Court (their Parliament) depose such a man, a *Pastour*, *Teacher*, or *Elder*, from his holy Calling or office in Gods House?

Another case.

Or suppose in a partiall and corrupt State, a Member or Officer of a Church should escape with his life upon the commission of murder, ought not a Church of *Christ* upon repentance to receive him? I suppose it will not be said that he ought to execute himselfe; or that the Church may use a Civill sword against him. In these cases may such persons (spar'd in civill punishments for some reason of, or by partialtie of State) be punished spirituallly by the Civill Magistrate, as *Abiathar* was? Let the very Enemies of *Zion* be Judges.

Secondly, If *Salomon* in thrusting out of *Abiathar* was a pattern and president unto all Civill Magistrates, why not also in putting *Zadok* in his roome, ver. 35. But against this the *Pope*, the *Bishops*, the *Presbyterians*, and the *Independents* will all cry out against such a practice in their severall respective claimes and challenges for their Ministries.

We find the Libertie of the Subjects of *Christ* in the choice of an *Apostle*.

Apostle, Act. 1. of a Deacon, Act. 6. of Elders, Act. 14. and guided by the assistance either of the Apostles or Evangelists, 1 Tim. 1. Tit. 1. without the least influence of any civill Magistrate, which shewes the beauty of their liberty.

The Parliaments of England have by right free choice of their *Speaker*, yet some *Princes* have thus farre beene gratified as to nominate, yea and implicitly to commend a *Speaker* to them. *Wise men* have seene the evill consequences of those influences (though but in civill things) how much farre greater and stronger are those shares, when the golden *Keyes* of the Sonne of God are delivered into the hands of civill Authority?

Peace. You know the noise raised concerning those famous *acts* of *Asa, Hezekiah, Jehosaphat, Josiah*. What thinke you of the Fast proclaimed by *Jehosaphat*? 2 Chron. 20. 3.

Truth. I finde it to be the duty of *Kings* and all in authority, to encourage *Christs Messengers of Truth* proclaiming *Repentance, &c.*

But under the Gospel to enforce all naturall and unregenerate people to *acts of worship*, what president hath *Christ Iesus* given us?

First, tis true *Jehosaphat* proclaimed a *Fast, &c.* but was he not in matters spirituall a type of *Christ*, the true *King of Israel*?

Secondly, *Jehosaphat* calls the members of the true Church to Church service and worship of God.

But consider, if civill Powers now may judge of and determine the actions of worship proper to the Saints: If they may appoint the time of the Churches worship, Fasting and Prayer, &c. why may they not as wel forbid those times which a Church of *Christ* shall make choice of, seeing it is a branch of the same Root to forbid what lieth not, as well as to injoyne what pleaseth?

And if in those most solemn duties and exercises, why not also in their ordinary meetings and worships? And if so, where is the power of the Lord *Iesus* bequeathed to his *Ministers* and *Churches*, of which the power of those *Kings* was but a shadow?

The liberties of *Christs Churches* in the choice of their officers. A civill influence dangerous to the Saints liberties.

Jehosaphats fast examined.

If civill powers may injoyne the time of the Churches worship, they may also forbid her times.

CHAP. CXVIII.

Peace. The liberty of the Subject sounds most sweet, London and Oxford both professe to fight for it: How much infinitely more sweet is that true soule liberty according to *Christ Iesus*? I know you would not take from *Cesar* ought, although it were

God will not
wrong Caesar,
and Caesar
should not
wrong God.

The famous
acts of Josiah
examined.

Magistracy in
generall from
God the par-
ticular formes
from the peo-
ple.

Israel confir-
med in a Na-
tionall Cove-
nant by reve-
lations, signes,
and miracles,
but so not
England.

Henry 8. the
first head and
governour of
the Church of
England.

to give to God: And what is Gods and his peoples I wish that Caesar may not take. Yet for the satisfaction of some, be pleased to glance upon *Josiah* his famous Acts in the Church of God concerning the worship of God, the Priests, Levites, and their Services, compelling the people to keepe the *Passover*, making himsele a covenant before the Lord, and compelling all that were found in *Ierusalem* and *Benjamin* to stand to it.

Truth. To these famous practices of *Josiah* I shall parallell the practices of Englands Kings: and first *de jure*, a word or two of their right: then *de facto*, discusse what hath been done.

First, *de jure*: *Josiah* was a precious branch of that Royall Root King *David*, who was immediately designed by God: and when the golden linkes of the Royall chaine broke in the usurpations of the Romane Conquerour, it pleased the most wise God to send a Sonne of *David*, a Sonne of God, to beginne againe that Royall Line, to sit upon the Throne of his Father *David*, *Luc. 1. 32. Acts 2. 30.*

It is not so with the Gentile Princes, Rulers and Magistrates, (whether *Monarchieall*, *Aristocraticall*, or *Democraticall*) who (though government in generall be from God, yet) receive their callings, power and authority, (both Kings and Parliaments) mediately from the people.

Secondly, *Josiah* and those Kings were Kings and Governours over the then true and onely Church of God *Nationall*; brought into the Covenant of God in *Abraham*, and so downward: and they might well be forced to stand to that Covenant into which with such immediate signes and miracles they had beene brought.

But what Commission from *Christ Iesus* had *Henry* the eight, *Edward* the 6. or any (*Josiah* like) to force the many hundred thousands of *English* men and women, without such immediate signes and miracles that *Israel* had to enter into an holy and spirituall Covenant with the invisible God, the Father of Spirits, or upon pains of death (as in *Josiahs* time) to stand to that which they never made, nor before *Evangelicall Repentance* are possibly capable of.

Now secondly *de facto*, let it be well remembered concerning the Kings of *England* professing *Reformation*. The foundation of all was laid in *Henry* the 8. The *Pope* chalengeth to be the Vicar of *Christ Iesus* here upon earth, to have power of reforming the Church, redressing abuses, &c. *Henry* 8. falls out with the *Pope*, and chalengeth

geth that very power to himself of which he had despoiled the Pope, as appears by that *Act of Parliament* establishing Henry 8 the supreme Head and Governour in all cases Ecclesiasticall, &c. It pleased the most High God to plague the Pope by Henry the 8. his means: but neither Pope nor King can ever prove such power from Christ derived to either of them.

Secondly, (as before intimated) let us view the Workes and *Acts of Englands* imitation of *Iosiahs* practice. Henry the 7. leaves England under the slavish bondage of the Popes yoke. Henry the 8. reforms all England to a new fashion, halfe Papist, halfe Protestant. King Edward the 6. turnes about the Wheele of the State, and workes the whole Land to absolute Protestantisme. Queene Mary succeeding to the Helme, steeres a direct contrary course, breakes in peeces all that Edward wrought, and brings forth an old edition of Englands Reformation all Popish. Mary not living out halfe her dayes (as the Prophet speakes of bloody persons) Elizabeth (like Ioseph) advanced from the Prison to the Palace, and from the irons to the Crowne, she pluckes up all her sister Maries plants, and sounds a Trumpet all Protestant.

The wonderfull formings and reformings of Religion by Englands Kings.

Kings and States often plant, and often pluck up Religions.

What sober man stands not amazed at these *Revolutions*? and yet like Mother like Daughter: and how zealous are we their off-spring for another impression and better edition of a *Nationall Canaan*. (in imitation of *Iudah* and *Iosiah*) which if attained, who knowes how soone succeeding Kings or Parliaments will quite pull downe and abrogate?

Thirdly, in all these formings and reformings, a *Nationall Church* of naturall unregenerate men was (like wax) the subject matter of all these formes and changes, whether Popish or Protestant: concerning which Nationall State the time is yet to come when ever the Lord Jesus hath given a word of institution and appointment.

A Nationall Church ever subject to turne and reterne, &c.

CHAP. CXIX.

Peace. You bring to minde (deare Truth) a plea of some wiser Papiests for the Popes supremacy, viz. that it was no such exorbitant or unheard of power and jurisdiction which the Pope challenged, but the very same which a Woman, Queene Elizabeth her selfe challenged, stiling her Papiissa, or she Pope: withall pleading that in point of Reason it was far more suitable that the Lord Jesus would

A woman Papiissa or head of the Church.

delegate his power rather to a *Clergie man* then a *Lay man*, as *Henry* the 8. or a woman, as his daughter *Elizabeth*.

The Papists
neerer to the
Truth concern-
ing the go-
vernment of
the Church
then most Pro-
testants.

Truth. I beleeve that neither one nor t'other hit the white, yet I beleeve the *Papists* arrowes fall the nearest to it in this particular, viz. That the government of the Church of *Christ* should rather belong to such as professe a *Ministry* or *Office* Spirituall, then to such as are meerly *Temporall* and *Civill*.

So that in conclusion, the whole *controversie* concerning the government of *Christs Kingdome* or *Church*, will be found to lye between the true and false *Ministry*, both chalenging the true *com-mission*, power and keyes from *Christ*.

The Kingly
power of the
Lord *Jesus*
troubles all
the Kings and
Rulers of the
Wo.ld,

Peace. This all glorious diadem of the *Kingly* power of the Lord *Jesus* hath bene the eye-lore of the *World*, and that which the *Kings* and *Rulers* of the *World* have alwayes lift up their hands unto.

The first report of a new *King* of the *Jewes* puts *Herod* and all *Jerusalem* into frights; and the power of this most glorious *King* of *Kings* over the *Soules* and *Consciences* of men, or over their *lives* and *worships*, is still the white that all the *Princes* of this *World* shoot at, and are enraged at the tidings of the true *Heire* the Lord *Jesus* in his servants.

A twofold ex-
altation of
Christ.

Truth. You well minde (deare *Peace*) a twofold exaltation of the Lord *Jesus*, one in the *Soules* and *Spirits* of men, and so he is exalted by all that truly love him, though yet remaining in *Babels captivity*, and before they hearken to the voyce of the Lord, Come forth of *Babel* my people.

A second exaltation of *Christ Jesus* upon the *Throne* of *David* his *Father* in his *Church* and *Congregation*, which is his Spirituall *Kingdome* here below.

The world
stormeth at
both.

I confesse there is a tumultuous rage at his entrance into his *Throne* in the *Soule* and *Consciences* of any of his chosen; but against his second exaltation in his true *Kingly* power and government, either *Monarchicall* in himself, or *Ministeriall* in the hands of his *Ministers* and *Churches*, are mustred up and shall be in the battels of *Christ* yet to be fought, all the powers of the gates of *Earth* and *Hell*.

A fourth dif-
ference.
Kings of *Isra-
el* types.

But I shall mention one difference more between the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*, and all other *Kings* and *Rulers* of the *Gentiles*.

Those *Kings* as *Kings* of *Israel* were all invested with a *typicall* and figurative respect, with which now no *Civill* power in the *World* can be invested.

They

They wore a double *Crowne*, First, *Civill*: Secondly, *Spiritual*, They wore a double *Crown* in which respect they typed out the *Spiritual King of Israel, Christ Iesus*.

When I say they were *types*, I make them not in all respect so to be, but as *Kings* and *Governours* over the Church and Kingdome of *God*, therein *types*.

Hence all those *Saviours* and *Deliverers*, which it pleased *God* to stirre up extraordinarily to his people, *Gideon, Baruc, Sampson, &c.* in that respect of their being *Saviours, Judges, and Deliverers* of *Gods* people, so were they *types* of *Iesus Christ*, either *Monarchically* ruling by himself immediately, or *Ministerially* by such whom he pleased to send to *vindicate* the *liberties* and *inheritances* of his people.

The Saviours of the Jewes, figures of the Saviour of the World.

CHAP. CXX.

Peace. I must needs be confest that since the *Kings* of *Israel* were ceremonially anointed with Oile: and

Secondly, in that they sat upon the Throne of *David* (which is expressly applied to *Christ Iesus*, *Luc. 1.32. Acts 2.30. Iohn 1.49.*) their *Crownes* were figurative and ceremoniall: but some here question whether or no they were not *types* of *civill Powers* and *Rulers* now, when *Kings* and *Queens* shall be nursing Fathers and nursing Mothers, &c.

Truth. For answer unto such, let them first remember that the dispute lyes not concerning the *Monarchicall* power of the *Lord Iesus*, the power of making *Lawes*, and making *Ordinances* to his Saints and Subjects: But concerning a deputed and Ministeriall power, and this distinction the very *Pope* himself acknowledgeth.

There are three great Competitours for this deputed or Ministeriall power of the *Lord Iesus*.

First, the *Arch-vicar* or *Sathan*, the pretended *Vicar* of *Christ* on *Earth*, who sits as *God* over the *Temple* of *God*, exalting himselfe not only above all that is called *God*, but over the *soules* and *consciences* of all his *vassalls*, yea over the *Spirit* of *Christ*, over the holy *Scriptures*, yea and *God* himselfe, *Dan. 8. & 11 chap. & Rev. 15.* together with *2 Thes. 2.*

This pretender although he professeth to claime but the Ministeriall power of *Christ*, to declare his *Ordinances*, to preach, baptise,

The Monarchicall and Ministeriall power of *Christ*.

3 Great Competitours for the Ministeriall power of *Christ*.

The Popes great pretenders for the Ministeriall power of *Christ*.

They also upon the point challenge the Monarchicall also

ordaine Ministers; and yet doth he upon the point challenge the Monarchicall or absolute power also, being full of selfe exalting and blaspheming, *Dan. 7. 25. & 11. 36. Rev. 13. 6.* speaking blasphemies against the God of Heaven, thinking to change times and *Laves*: but he is the sonne of perdition arising out of the bottomlesse pit, and comes to destruction, *Revel. 17.* for so hath the Lord Jesus decreed to consume him by the breath of his mouth, *2 Thes. 2.*

The second great pretender the Civill Magistrate.

The second great Competitour to this Crowne of the Lord Jesus is the Civill Magistrate, whether Emperours, Kings, or other inferiour Officers of State who are made to beleve by the false Prophets of the World that they are the Antitypes of the Kings of Israel and Judah, and weare the Crowne of Christ.

3 Great factions challenge an Arme of Flesh.

Under the wing of the Civill Magistrate doe three great factions shelter themselves, and mutually oppose each other, striving as for life, who shall sit downe under the shadow of that Arme of Flesh.

1. The Prelacie.

First, the *Prelacie*, who (though some extravagants of late have inclined to wave the *King*, and to creepe under the wings of the *Pope*, yet) so far depends upon the *King*, that it is justly said they are the *Kings Bishops*.

2. The Presbyterie.

Secondly, the *Presbyterie*, who (though in truth they ascribe not so much to the *civill Magistrate* as some too grossely do, yet they) give so much to the *civill Magistrate* as to make him absolutely the Head of the Church: For, if they make him the Reformer of the Church, the Suppressour of Schismatics and Hereticks, the Protectour and defendour of the Church, &c. what is this in true plain English but to make him the Judge of the true and false Church, Judge of what is *truth*, and what *error*; who is Schismaticall, who Hereticall, unlesse they make him only an *Executioner*, as the *Pope* doth in his punishing of Hereticks?

The Pope and Presbyterie make use of the Civill Magistrate but as of an Executioner.

I doubt not but the Aristocraticall government of Presbyterians may well subsist in a Monarchie (not only regulated but also tyrannicall) yet doth it more naturally delight in the element of an Aristocraticall government of State, and so may properly be said to be (as the Prelates, the Kings so these) the States Bishops.

3. Independents.

The third, though not so great, yet growing faction is that (so called) Independent: I preiudice not the personall worth of any of the three sorts: This latter (as I beleve this Discourse hath manifested)

nifested) jumps with the *Prelates*, and (though not more fully, yet) more explicitly then the *Presbyterians* cast down the *Crowne* of the *Lord Jesus* at the feet of the *Civill Magistrate*: And although they pretend to receive their *Ministrie* from the choice of 2 or 3 private persons in *Church-covenant*, yet would they faine perswade the Mother *Old England* to imitate her Daughter *New England's* practice, viz. to keep out the *Presbyterians*, and only to embrace themselves, both as the *States* and the *Peoples* Bishops.

The third competition for this *Crown* and power of the *Lord Jesus* is of those that *seperate* both from one and t^other, yet divided also amongst themselves into many severall *professions*.

Of these, they that goe furthest, professe they must yet come neerer to the wayes of the Son of *God*: And doubtlesse, so farre as they have gone, they bid the *most*, and make the *fairest* plea for the *purity* and power of *Christ Jesus*, let the rest of the *Inhabitants* of the *World* be Judges.

Let all the former well be viewed in their externall State, pomp, riches, conformitie to the *World*, &c. And on the other side, let the latter be considered, in their more through departure from *sinne* and *sinfull Worship*, their condescending (generally) to the lowest and meanest contentments of this *life*, their exposing of themselves for *Christ* to greater sufferings, and their desiring no *Civill sword* nor *Arme of Flesh*, but the two-edged sword of *Gods Spirit* to try out the matter by: and then let the *Inhabitants* of the *World* judge, which come neereſt to the doctrine, holines, povertie, patience and practice of the *Lord Jesus Christ*; and whether or no these later deserve not so much of *Humanitie*, and the *Subjects Libertie*, as (not offending the *Civill State*) in the freedome of their *Soules*, to enjoy the common aire to breath in.

The Independents: who come neereſt to the Bishops

The third competition, of those that seperate.

Their neerer conformitie to *Christ*.

The Churches of the Separation ought in *Humanitie* and *Subjects Libertie* not to be oppressed, but (at least) permitted.

CHAP. CXX.

Peace. **D**ear^e *Truth*, you have shewne me a little draught of *Zions* sorrowes, her children tearing out their mothers bowels: O when will Hee that stablisheth, comforteth, and builds up *Zion*, looke downe from *Heaven*, and have mercy on her? &c.

Truth. The Vision yet doth tarry (saith *Habacuk*) but will most surely

surely come : and therefore the patient and believing must wait for it.

7 Reasons
proving
that the
Kings of Isra-
el and Judah
cannot have
any other but
a Spirituall
Antitype.

Civill Types
and figures
must needs be
answered by
Spirituall An-
titypes.
Civill compul-
sion was
proper in the
Nationall
Church of the
Jewes, but
most impro-
per in the
Christian,
which is not
Nationall.

Neither Christ
Jesus nor his
Messengers
have made the
Civill Magis-
trate Israels
Antitype, but
the contrary.

Civill Magi-
stracie essenti-
ally civill, and
the same in all
parts of the
World.

But to your last Proposition, whether the Kings of Israel and Judah were not types of Civill Magistrates? now I suppose by what hath been already spoken, these things will be evident.

First, that thote former types of the *Land*, of the *People*, of their *Worships*, were types and figures of a *spirituall Land*, *spirituall People*, and *spirituall Worship* under Christ. Therefore consequently, their *Saviours*, *Redeemers*, *Deliverers*, *Judges*, *Kings*, must also have their *spirituall Antitypes*, and so consequently not *civill* but *spirituall Governours* and *Rulers*; lest the very *essentiall nature* of *Types*, *Figures* and *Shadows* be overthrowed.

Secondly, although the Magistrate by a Civill sword might well compell that Nationall Church to the externall exercise of their Naturall Worship: yet it is not possible (according to the rule of the New Testament) to compell whole Nations to true Repentance and Regeneration, without which (so farre as may be discerned true) the Worship and holy Name of God is prophaned and blasphemed.

An Arme of Flesh, and Sword of Steele cannot reach to cut the darknesse of the Mind, the hardnesse and unbeliefe of the Heart, and kindly operate upon the Soules affections to forsake a long continued Fathers worship, and to imbrace a new, though the best and truest. This worke performes alone that sword out of the mouth of Christ, with two edges, *Rev. 1. & 3.*

Thirdly, we have not one tittle in the New Testament of Christ Jesus concerning such a parallel, neither from *Himselfe*, nor from his *Ministers*, with whom he conversed fourty dayes after his *Resurrection*, instructing them in the matters of his *Kingdome*, *Acts 1.*

Neither find we any such *commission* or *direction* given to the *Civill Magistrate* to this purpose, nor to the *Saints* for their *submission* in matters spirituall, but the contrary, *Acts 4. & 5. 1. Cor. 7. 23. Coloss. 2. 18.*

Fourthly, we have formerly viewed the very nature and essence of a *Civill Magistrate*, and find it the same in all parts of the *World*, where ever people live upon the face of the *Earth*, agreeing together in *Townes*, *Cities*, *Provinces*, *Kingdomes*: I say the same essentially *Civill*, both from, 1. the *rise* and *fountain* whence it
springs,

springs, to wit, the *peoples* choice and free consent. 2. The Object of it, viz. the *common-weale* or *safety* of such a people in their *bodies* and *goods*, as the *Authours* of *both* *Monarchies* have themselves confessed.

This *civill* Nature of the *Magistrate* we have proved to receive no addition of power from the *Magistrates* being a *Christian*, no more then it receives diminution from his not being a *Christian*: even as the *Common-weale* is a true *Common-weale*, although it have not heard of *Christianitie*; and *Christianitie* professed in it (as in *Pergamus*, *Ephesus*, &c.) makes it ne're no more a *Commonweale*, and *Christianitie* taken away, and the *candlestick* removed, makes it ne're the lesse a *Commonweale*.

Fifthly, the *Spirit of God* expressly relates the worke of the *civill* *Magistrate* under the *Gospel*, *Rom. 13.* expressly mentioning (as the *Magistrates* object) the duties of the *second Table*, concerning the *bodies* and *goods* of the *subject*.

2. The *reward* or *wages* which people owe for such a worke, to wit, (not the contribution of the *Church* for any *spirituall* worke, but) *tribute*, *toll*, *custome* which are *wages* payable by all sorts of men, *Natives* and *Forreigners*, who enjoy the same benefit of *publick* *peace* and *commerce* in the *Nation*.

Sixthly, Since the *civill* *Magistrate*, whether *Kings* or *Parliaments*, *States*, and *Governours*, can receive no more in *justice* then what the *People* give, and are therefore but the *eyes* and *hands* and *instruments* of the *people* (simply considered, without respect to this or that *Religion*) it must inevitably follow (as formerly I have touched) that if *Magistrates* have received their power from the *people*, then the greatest number of the *people* of every *Land* have received from *Christ Iesus* a power to *establish*, *correct*, *reforme* his *Saints* and *servants*, his *wife* and *spouse*, the *Church*: And she that by the *expresse word* of the *Lord* (*Psal. 149.*) binds *Kings* in *chains*, and *Nobles* in *links of iron*, must her selfe be subject to the changeable pleasures of the *people* of the *World* (which lies in *mislednesse*, *1 John 5.*) even in matters of *Heavenly* and *spirituall* Nature.

Hence therefore in all controversies concerning the *Church*, *Ministrie* and *worship*, the last *Appeale* must come to the *Bar* of the *People* or *Commonweal*, where all may personally meet, as in some *Commonweales* of small number, or in greater by their *Representatives*.

Christianitie adds not to the nature of a *Civill* *Commonweale*, nor doth want of *Christianitie* diminish it.

Rom. 13. evidently proves the *Civill* work and wages of the *Civill* *Magistrate*

Most strange, yet most true consequences from the *Civill* *Magistrates* now being the *Antitype* of the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*.

If no Religion
but that which
the Common-
weal approves
thē no Christ,
no God, but at
the pleasure of
th^e world.
2 Ep. Jo. 9.

Hence then no person esteemed a beleever, and added to the Church.

No Officer chosen and ordained.

No person cast forth and excommunicated, but as the Commonweale and people please, and in conclusion, no Church of Christ in this Land or World, and consequently no visibly Christ the Head of it. Yea yet higher, consequently no God in the World worshipped according to the institutions of Christ Jesus, except the severall peoples of the Nations of the World shall give allowance.

Peace. Deare Truth, Oh whither have our Forefathers and teachers led us? higher then to God himselfe (by these doctrines driven out of the World) you cannot rise: and yet so high must the inevitable and undeniable consequences of these their doctrines reach, if men walke by their owne common Principles.

The true anti-
type of the
Kings of Isra-
el and Judah.

Truth. I may therefore here seasonably adde a seventh which is a necessary consequence of all the former *Arguments*, and an *Argument* it selfe: viz. we finde expressely a spirituall power of Christ Jesus in the hands of his *Saints*, *Ministers* and *Churches*, to bee the true *Antitype* of those former figures in all the *Prophecies* concerning Christ his *spirituall power*, Isa. 9. Dan. 7. Mich. 4. &c. compared with Luc. 1. 32. Act. 2. 30. 1 Cor. 5. Math. 18. Marc. 13. 34. &c.

CHAP. CXXI.

Peace. **G**Lorious and conquering Truth, mee thinkes I see most evidently thy glorious conquests: how mighty are thy spirituall weapons (2 Cor. 10.) to breake downe those mighty and strong Holds and Castles, which men have fortified themselves withall against thee? O that even the thoughts of men may submit and bow downe to the captivity of Jesus Christ!

A fourth dif-
ference of
Lawes and
Statutes from
all others.

Truth. Your kinde encouragement makes mee proceed more cheerfully to a fourth difference from the Lawes and Statutes of this Land, different from all the Lawes and Statutes of the World, and parallel'd onely by the Lawes and Ordinances of spirituall Israel.

Moses a type
of Christ.

First then consider we the *Law-maker*, or rather the *Law-publisher* or *Prophet*, as *Moses* calls himselfe, Deut. 18. and Act. 3. he is expressely

expressly called that Prophet who figured out *Christ Jesus* who was to come, like unto *Moses*, greater then *Moses*, as the son is greater then the servant.

Such *Law-givers* or *Law-publishers* never had any *State* or *People* as *Moses* the type, or *Christ Jesus*, miraculously stirred up and sent as the mouth of *God* betweene *God* and his people.

Secondly, concerning the *Laws* themselves: It is true, the second *Table* contains the *Law* of *Nature*, the *Law* *Morall* and *Civil*, yet such a *Law* was also given to this people as never to any people in the *World*: such was the *Law* of *worship*, *Psal.* 147. peculiarly given to *Jacob*, and *God* did not deale so with other *Nations*: which *Laws* for the matter of the *worship* in all those wonderfull significant *Sacrifices*, and for the manner by such a *Priesthood*, such a place of *Tabernacle*, and afterward of *Temple*, such times and solemnities of *Festivals*, were never to be parallel'd by any other *Nation*, but onely by the true *Christian Israel* established by *Jesus Christ* amongst *Jewes* and *Gentiles* throughout the *World*.

Thirdly, the *Law* of the tennie Words (*Deut.* 10.) the *Epitome* of all the rest, it pleased the most high *God* to frame and pen twice with his owne most holy and dreadfull finger upon *Mount Sinai*, which he never did to any other *Nation* before or since, but onely to that spirituall *Israel*, the people and *Church* of *God*, in whose hearts of *flesh* he writes his *Laws*, according to *Ier.* 31. *Heb.* 8. and 10.

Peace. Such promulgation of such *Laws*, by such a Prophet, must needs be matchlesse and unparallel'd.

Truth. In the fift place consider we the punishments and rewards annexed to the breach or observation of these *Laws*.

First, those which were of a temporall and present consideration of this life: *Blessings* and *Curses* of all sorts opened at large, *Levit.* 26. and *Deut.* 28. which cannot possibly be made good in any *State*, *Countrey* or *Kingdome*, but in a spirituall sense in the *Church* and *Kingdome* of *Christ*.

The reason is this, such a temporall prosperity of outward peace and plenty of all things, of increase of children, of cattell, of honour, of health, of successe, of victory, suits not temporally with the afflicted and persecuted estate of *Gods* people now: And therefore spirituall and soule blessednesse must be the Antitype, viz. In the midst of revivings, and all manner of evill speeches for *Christs* sake, soule blessednesse. In the midst of afflictions and persecutions, soule blessednesse,

The Lawes of
Israel unparallel'd.

Gods owne
finger penn'd
Lawes for
Israel.

Fift difference
Temporall
prosperity
most proper
to the temporall
Nationall
State of the
Jewes.

The spirituall
prosperity of
Gods people
now, the antitype.

Math. 5. and Luc. 6. And yet herein the *Israel* of God should enjoy their spirituall peace, *Gal. 6. 16.*

What *Israels* excommuni-
cation was.

Out of that blessed *temporall estateto* be cast or caried *captive*, was their *excommunication* or casting out of Gods sight, 2 *King. 17. 23.* Therefore was the *blasphemers*, the *false Prophet*, the *idolater*, to bee cast out or cut off from this *holy Land*: which *punishment* cannot be parallel'd by the punishment of any *State* or *Kingdome* in the *world*, but onely by the *excommunicating* or outcasting of *person* or *Church* from the fellowship of the *Saints* and *Churches* of *Christ Iesus* in the *Gospel*.

The corporall
stoning in the
Law, typed out
spirituall ston-
ing in the
Gospel.

And therefore (as before I have noted) the putting away of the *false prophet*, by stoning him to death, *Deut. 13.* is fully answered (and that in the very same words) in the *Antitype*, when by the generall consent or stoning of the whole *Assembly*, any *wicked person* is put away from amongst them, that is, *spiritually cut off* out of the *Land* of the *spiritually living*, the *people* or *Church* of *God*, 1 *Cor. 5. Galat. 5.*

The rewards
or punish-
ments of the
Lawes of *Is-
rael* not to be
parallel'd.

Lastly, the great and high *reward* or *punishment* of the keeping or breach of these *Lawes* to *Israel*, was such as cannot suit with any *State* or *Kingdome* in the *World* beside: the *Reward* of the *Observation* was *Life*, *Eternall Life*. The *Breach* of any one of these *Lawes* was *death*, *Eternall death* or *damnation* from the presence of the *Lord*. So *Rom. 10. 1am. 2.* Such a *Covenant God* made not before nor since with any *State* or *People* in the *world*. For, *Christ* is the *end* of the *Law* for *righteousnesse* to every one that beleeveeth, *Rom. 10. 4.* And he that beleeveeth in that *Son of God*, hath *eternall life*; hee that beleeveeth not hath not life, but is condemned already, *John 3.* and 1 *John 5.*

CHAP. CXXII.

John Carter Brown
Library

The wars of
Israel typicall.

Peace. **D**Eare Truth, you have most lively set forth the *unparallel'd* *estate* of that *typicall Land* and *people* of the *Iewes* in their *peace* and *quiet government*: Let mee now request you in the last place to glance at the *difference* of the *wars* of this *people* from the *wars* of other *Nations*, and of their having no *Antitype* but the *Churches* of *Christ Iesus*.

First, all *Nations* round about *Israel* more or lesse, sometime or other, had indignation against this *people*, *Egyptians*, *Edomites*, *Moabites*,

Moabites, Ammonites, Midians, Philistians, Assyrians and Babylonians, &c. as appears in the History of *Moses, Samuel, Judges and Kings*, and in all the *Prophets*: You have an expresse Catalogue of them, *Psal. 83.* sometimes many hundred thousand Enemies in pitch field against them: of *Ethiopians* ten hundred thousand at once in the dayes of *Asa*, *2 Chron. 14.* and at other times as the sand upon the Sea shoare.

Israel's Enemies round about.

Such Enemies the Lord *Iesus* foretold his *Israel*, The World shall hate you, *Iohn 16.* You shall be hated of all men for my Names sake, *Marth. 24.* All that will live godly in *Christ Iesus* must be persecuted or hunted, *1 Tim. 4.* And not only by *flesh and blood*, but also by *Principalities, Powers, Spirituall wickednesse* in high places (*Ephes. 6.*) by the whole *Pagan World* under the *Roman Emperours*, and the whole *Antichristian World* under the *Roman Popes*, *Rev. 12. & 13. Chap.* by the *Kings of the Earth*, *Rev. 17.* And *Gog and Magog*, like the sand upon the Sea shoare (*Rev. 20.*)

The Enemies of mysticall Israel.

Peace. Such Enemies, such Armies, no History, no experience proves ever to have come against one poore Nation as against *Israel* in the type; and never was nor shall be knowne to come against any State or Country now, but the *Israel of God* the *Spirituall Jewes*, *Christ's* true followers in all parts and quarters of the World.

Beside all these without, *Israel* is betraied within her owne bowells, bloody *Sauls, Absaloms, Shebaes, Adonijahs, Ieroboams, Athaliahs* raising *insurrections, conspiracies, tumults*, in the *Antitype*, and Parallell the *Spirituall* state of the *Christian Church*.

Enemies against Israel in her owne bowells.

Secondly, consider we the famous and wonderfull battells, victories, captivities, deliverances, which it pleased the *God of Israel* to dispence to that people and Nation, and let us search if they can be paralleled by any State or people, but mystically and Spiritually the true *Christian Israel of God*, *Gal. 6.*

How famous was the bondage and slavery of that people and Nation 430 yeares in the Land of *Egypt*, and as famous, glorious and miraculous was their returne through the *Red Sea* (a figure of *Baptisme*, *1 Corinth. 10.* and *Egypt* a figure of an *Egypt* now, *Rev. 11. 8?*)

The famous typically captivities of the Jews.

How famous was the 70 yeares captivity of the *Jewes* in *Babel* transported from that Land of *Canaan*, and at the full period returned againe to *Jerusalem*, a type of the captivity of *Gods* people now.

now Spiritually captivated in mysticall *Babel*, Rev. 18. 4?

Their wonderfull victories.

Time would faile me to speake of *Ieshua's* conquest of literall *Canaan*, the slaughter of 31 Kings, of the miraculous taking of *Iericho* and other Cities; *Gideon* his miraculous battell against the *Midianites*; *Jonathan* and his Armour bearer against the *Philistims*; *David* by his 5 smooth Stones against *Goliath*; *Asa*, *Iehosaphat*, *Hezekiah*, their mighty and miraculous victories against so many hundred thousand Enemies, and that sometimes without a blow given.

What State, what Kingdome, what warres and combats, victories and deliverances can parallel this people, but the Spirituall and mysticall *Israel* of God in every Nation and Country of the World, typed out by that small typicall handfull, in that little spot of ground the land of *Canaan*?

The mysticall battells of Gods Israel now.

The *Israel* of God now, men and women, fight under the Great Lord Generall, the Lord *Iesus Christ*: Their Weapons, Armour, and Artillery, is like themselves. Spirituall, let forth from top to toe, Ephes. 6. So mighty and so potent that they breake downe the strongest holds and Castles, yea in the very soules of men and carry into captivity the very thoughts of men, subjecting them to *Christ Iesus*: They are Spirituall conquerours, as in all the 7 Churches of *Asia*, He that overcommeth: He that overcommeth, Rev. 2. & 3.

Their victories and conquests in this are contrary to those of this World, for when they are slaine and slaughtered, yet then they conquer: So overcame they the *Divell* in the *Roman Emperours*, Rev. 12. By the bloud of the *Lambe*: 2. By the word of their Testimony: 3. The cheerfull spilling of their owne bloud for *Christ*; for they loved not their lives unto the death: And in all this they are more then Conquerours through him that loved them, *Rom.* 8.

The mysticall Army of white troopers R. 19.

This glorious Armie of white Troopers, horses and harnessse (*Christ Iesus* and his true *Israel*) Rev. 19. gloriously conquer and overcome the *Beast*, the false Prophet and the Kings of the Earth up in Armes against them, Rev. 19. and lastly, reigning with *Christ* a thousand yeares they conquer the *Divell* himselve and the numberlesse Armies (like the sand on the Sea shore) of *Gog* and *Magog*, and yet not a tittle of mention of any sword, helmet, breastplate, shield or horse, but what is Spirituall and of a heavenly nature: All which Warres of *Israel* have been, may be, and shall be fulfilled mystically and Spiritually.

I could

I could further insist on other particulars of *Israels* unparalleled state, and might display those excellent passages which it pleaseth God to mention, *Nehem* 9.

CHAP. CXXIII.

Peace. You have (deare *Truth*) as in a glasse presented the face of *Old and New Israel*, and as in water, face answereth to face, so doth the face of typicall *Israel* to the face of the *Antitype*, between whom, and not between *Canaan* and the *Civill Nations* and Countries of the *World* now, there is an admirable consent and harmony: But I have heard some say, was not the *civill state* and *Judicialls* of that people presidentiall?

Truth. I have in part, and might further discover, that from the *King* upon his *Throne*, to the very *Beasts*, yea the excrements of their bodies (as we see in their going to War, *Deut* 23. 12.) their *civills*, *moralls*, and *naturalls* were carried on in types: and however I acknowledge that what was simply *morall*, *civill*, and *naturall* in *Israels* state, in their constitutions, *Lawes*, *punishments*, may be imitated and followed by the *States*, *Countries*, *Cities* and *Kingdomes* of the *World*: Yet who can question the lawfulnessse of other formes of *Government*, *Lawes* and *punishments* which differ, since *civill constitutions* are mens *Ordinances* (or creation, *2 Pet* 2. 13.) unto which *Gods* people are commanded even for the *Lords* sake to submit themselves, which if they were unlawfull they ought not to do?

Peace. Having thus far proceeded in examining whether God hath charged the *Civill State* with the establishing of the *Spirituall* and *Religious*, what conceive you of that next assertion, viz. "It is well knowne that the remanence of *Princes* in *Christendome* in matters of *Religion* and *Worship*, divolving the care thereof not only to the *Clergie*, and so setting their *Hornes* upon the *Churches* head, hath been the cause of *Antichristian* invention, usurpation and corruption in the *Worship* and *Temple* of *God*."

Truth. It is lamentably come to passe by *Gods* just permission, *Sathans* policie, the peoples sinne, and the malice of the wicked against *Christ*, and the corruption of *Princes* and *Magistrates*, that so many *intemperate* usurpations, and *corruptions* are risen in the *Worship* and *Temple* of *God* throughout that part of the *World* which is called *Christian*, and may most properly be called the *Popes Christendome*,

Whether the
Civill state of
Israel was pre-
sidentiall.

Whether the
Civill state of
Israel was pre-
sidentiall.

The true
Christendome

in opposition to *Christ Jesus* his true *Christian Common-weale*, or *Church* the true *Christendome*: But that this hath arisen from *Princes* remissenesse in not keeping their watch, to establish the *Purity of Religion, Doctrine and Worship*, and to punish (according to *Israels* patterne) all false Ministers, by rooting them and their worships out of the *World*, that, I say, can never bee evinced; and the many thousands of glorious *Soules* under the *Altar*, (whose blood hath beene spilt by this *position*) and the many hundred thousand *Soules*, driven out of their bodies by *Civill Warres*, and the many millions of *soules* forced to *hypocrisis* and ruine eternall, by inforced *Uniformities in Worship*, will to all Eternity proclaim the contrary.

Great unfaithfulness in Ministers to cast the chiefest burden of judging and establishing true Christianity upon the Commonweal or world it selfe.

Indeed it shewes a most injurious *idleness* and *unfaithfulness* in such as profess to be *Messengers of Christ Jesus*, to cast the heaviest weight of their care upon the *Kings* and *Rulers* of the *Earth*, yea, upon the very *Common-weales*, *Bodies of People*, (that is, the *World* it selfe) who have fundamentally in themselves the *Root of Power*, to set up what *Government* and *Governours* they shall agree upon.

Secondly, it shewes abundance of carnall diffidence and distrust of the glorious power and gracious presence of the *Lord Jesus*, who hath given his *promise* and *Word*, to bee with such his *messengers* to the end of the world, *Matth. 28.*

That *Dog* that feares to meet a man in the path, runnes on with boldnes at his masters coming and presence at his backe.

To governe & judge in civill affaires load enough on the Civill Magistrate.

Thirdly, what imprudence and indiscretion is it in the most common affaires of Life, to conceive that *Emperours, Kings* and *Rulers* of the earth must not only be qualified with *politick* and *state abilities* to make and execute such *Civill Lawes* which may concerne the common rights, peace and safety (which is worke and businesse, load and burthen enough for the ablest shoulders in the *Commonweal*) but also furnished with such *spirituall* and heavenly abilities to governe the *Spirituall* and *Christian Commonweale*, the *flocke* and *Church of Christ*, to pull downe, and set up *Religion*, to judge, determine and punish in *Spirituall controversies*, even to death or banishment: And beside, that not only the severall sorts of *civill Officers* (which the people shall choose and set up) must be so authorised, but that all respective *Commonweales* or *Bodies of people* are charged (much more) by *God* with this worke and businesse, radically and fundamentally, because all true *civill Magistrates*, have not the least *insh* of *civill power*, but what is measured out to them from the free consent of the

Magistrates can have no more power then the common consent of the people shall bestow upon them with.

Whole: even as a *Committee of Parliament*, cannot further act then the power of the *House* shall arme and enable them.

Concerning that *Objection* which may arise from the *Kings of Israel and Judah*, who were borne members of *Gods Church*, and trained up therein all their dayes, (which thousands of lawfull *Magistrates* in the world, possibly borne and bred in false *Worships*, *Pagan* or *Antichristian*, never heard of) and were therein *types* of the great anointed, the *King of Israel*, I have spoken sufficiently to such as have an eare to heare: and therefore

Thousands of lawfull Magistrates who never heare of the true church of God.

Lastly, so unsutable is the commixing and intangling of the *Civill* with the *Spirituall* charge and *Government*, that (except it was for subsistence, as we see in *Paul* and *Barnabas*, working with their owne hands) the Lord *Iesus*, and his *Apostles*, kept themselves to one: If ever any in this world was able to manage both the *Spirituall* and *Civill*, Church and Commonweale, it was the Lord *Iesus*, (wisdomes it selfe:) Yea hee was the true Heire to the Crowne of *Israel*, being the Sonne of *David*: yet being sought for by the people to be made a King, *Joh. 5.* he refused, and would not give a president to any King, Prince, or Ruler, to manage both swords, and to assume the charge of both Tables.

The Spirituall and Civill Sword cannot be managed by one and the same person.

The Lord Iesus refused to manage both.

Now concerning *Princes*, I desire it may bee remembred, who were most injurious and dangerous to *Christianity*, whether *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Julian*, &c. *Persecuters*, or *Constantine*, *Theodosius*, &c. who assumed this Power and *Authority*, in and over the *Church* in *Spirituall* things: It is confest by the *Answerer* and others of note, that under these later, the Church, the *Christian State*, Religion, and *Worship*, were most corrupted: under *Constantine*, *Christians* fell asleepe on the beds of carnall ease and Liberty: insomuch that some apply to his times, that sleepe of the *Church*, *Cant. 5. 2.* I sleepe though mine heart waketh.

Nero and the persecuting Emperours not so injurious to Christianity, as Constantine and others who assumed a power in Spirituall things. Under Constantine Christianity fell into corruption, and Christians fell asleepe.

CHAP. CXXIV.

Peace. **Y**Es, but some will say, this was not through their assuming of this power, but the ill managing of it.

Truth. Yet are they commonly brought as the great *Presidents* for all succeeding *Princes* and *Rulers* in after Ages: and in this very controvesie, their practices are brought as presidentiall to establish *persecution* for *conscience*.

Who force the
consciencies of
others, yet are
not willing to
be forced
themselves.

Constantine
and others
wanted not so
much affecti-
on as infor-
mation of
conscience.

Sad conse-
quences of
charging the
Civill powers
with the care
of Spiritualls.

Civill Rulers
giving and
lending their
Hornes or Au-
thority to Bi-
shops, both
dangerous to
the truth of
Christ.

Secondly, those *Emperours* and other *Princes* and *Magistrates* acted in *Religion* according to their *consciencies* perswasion, (and beyond the light and perswasion of *conscience* can no man living walk in any feare of God.) Hence have they forced their *subiects* to *uniformitie* and *conformitie* unto their own *consciencies* (what ever they were) though not willing to have been forced themselves in the matters of *God* and *Conscience*.

Thirdly, Had not the *light* of their *eye* of *conscience*, and the *consciencies* also of their *Teachers* been darkned, they could not have been condemned for want of heavenly *affection*, rare *devotion*, wonderfull care and *diligence*, propounding to themselves the best *patternes* of the *Kings* of *Judah*, *David*, *Salomon*, *Asa*, *Jehosaphat*, *Josiah*, *Hezekiah*: But here they lost the *path*, and themselves, in perswading themselves to be the *parallels* and *antitypes* to those *figurative* and *typicall* *Princes*: whence they conceived themselves bound to make their *Cities*, *Kingdomes*, *Empires* new holy lands of *Canaan*, and themselves *Governours* and *Judges* in *spirituall* causes, compelling all *consciencies* to *Christ*, and persecuting the contrary with *ire* and *sword*.

Upon these *rootes*, how was, how is it possible but that such *bitter fruits* should grow of *corruption* of *Christianitie*, *Persecution* (of such *godly*, who happily see more of *Christ* then such *Rulers* themselves) their *Dominions* and *Jurisdiccions* being overwhelmed with inforced *disimulation* and *hypocriſie*, and (where power of *resistance*) with flames of *civill combustion*, as at this very day, he that runs may read and tremble at.

Peace. They adde further, that the *Princes* of *Christendome* setting their *Hornes* upon the *Churches* head, have been the cause of *Antichristian inventions*, &c.

Truth. If they mean that the *Princes* of *Europe* giving their power and *authoritie* to the *seven-headed* and *ten-horned Beast* of *Rome*, have been the cause, &c. I confesse it to be one concurring cause: yet withall it must be remembered, that even before such *Princes* set their *hornes* or *authoritie* upon the *Beasts* head, even when they did (as I may say) but lend their *hornes* to the *Bishops*, even then rose up many *Antichristian abominations*. And though I confesse there is but small difference (in some respect) betweene the setting their *hornes* upon the *Priests* heads (whereby they are inabled immediately to push and gore whoever crosse their *doctrine* and *practice*)

and.

and the *lending* of their *horne*, that is, *pushing* and *goring* such themselves, as are declared by their *Bishops* and *Priests* to be *hereticall*, as was and is practised in some *Countries* before and since the *Pope*: yet I confidently affirme, that neither the *Lord Jesus* nor his first ordained *Ministers* and *Churches* (gathered by such *Ministers*) did ever weare, or crave the helpe of such *horne* in *Spiritual* and *Christian* affaires: The *spirituall power* of the *Lord Jesus* in the hands of his true *Ministers* and *Churches* (according to *Balaams* prophesie *Num. 23.*) is the *horne* of that *Unicorne* or *Rhinoceros* (*Psal 92.*) which is the strongest *horne* in the world, in comparison of which the strongest *horne* of the *Bulls* of *Basan* breake as *sticks* and *reeds*. *Historie* tells us how that *Unicorne* or one-horned *Beast* the *Rhinoceros*, tooke up a *Bull* like a *Tennis ball*, in the *Theater* at *Rome* before the *Emperour*, according to that record of the *Poet*:

The *Spiritual* power of the *Lord Jesus* compared in *Scripture* to the incomparable *horne* of the *Rhinoceros*:

Quantus erat cornu cuius pila Taurus erat?

Unto this *Spiritual* power of the *Lord Jesus*, the *soules* and *thoughts* of the highest *Kings* and *Emperours* must subject, *Math. 16.* & *18.* *1 Cor. 5.* & *10.* chapters.

CHAP. CXXV.

Peace. **D**EARE *Truth*, You know the noyse is made from those *prophecies*, *Isa. 46.* *Kings* and *Queenes* shall be nursing *Fathers*, &c. and *Revel. 21.* the *Kings* of the *Earth* shall bring their *Glory* and *Honour* to new *Jerusalem*, &c.

Truth. I answer with that mournfull *Prophet*, *Psal 74.* I see not that man, that *Prophet*, that can tell us how long. How many excellent *Pen-men* fight each against other with their *pens* (like *swords*) in the application of those *prophecies* of *David*, *Isa. Jer. Ezekiel, Daniel, Zacharie, John*, when and how those *Prophecies* shall be fulfilled!

A time when *Gods* people are wholly at a losse for *Gods* worship.

Secondly, When ever those *prophecies* are fulfilled, yet shall those *Kings* not be *Heads*, *Governours*, and *Judges* in *Ecclesiastical* or *Spiritual* causes, but be themselves judged and ruled (if within the *Church*) by the power of the *Lord Jesus* therein. Hence saith *Isaiah*, those *Kings* and *Queenes* shall lick the *Dust* of thy feet, &c.

Nursing fathers and mothers.

Peace. Some will here aske, What may the Magistrate then lawfully doe with his Civill horne or power in matters of Religion?

Truth. His horne not being the horne of that *Unicorne* or *Rhinocerot*, the power of the Lord *Iesus* in *Spirituall* case, his sword not the *two-edged sword* of the *Spirit*, the word of *God* (hanging not about the *loines* or *side*, but at the *lips*, and proceeding out of the *mouth* of his *Ministers*) but of an humane and Civill nature and constitution, it must consequently be of a humane and Civill operation, for who knowes not that operation followes constitution? and therefore I shall end this passage with this consideration:

The *Civill Magistrate* either respecteth that *Religion* and *Worship* which his conscience is perswaded is true, and upon which he ventures his Soule: or else that and those which he is perswaded are false.

Concerning the first, if that which the *Magistrate* believeth to be true, be true, I say he owes a threefold dutie unto it:

First, approbation and countenance, a reverent esteeme and honorable Testimonie, according to *Isa. 49. Revel. 21.*) with a tender respect of *Truth*, and the professors of it.

Secondly, Personall submission of his owne Soule to the power of the Lord *Iesus* in that *spirituall Government* and *Kingdome*, according to *Mat. 18. 1 Cor. 5.*

Thirdly, Protection of such true professors of *Christ*, whether apart, or met together, as also of their estates from violence and injurie, according to *Rom. 13.*

Now secondly, if it be a false Religion (unto which the *Civill Magistrate* dare not adjoyne, yet) he owes,

First permission (for approbation he owes not to what is evill) and this according to *Matthew 13. 30.* for publike peace and quiet sake.

Secondly he owes protection to the persons of his Subjects, (though of a false worship) that no injurie be offered either to the persons or goods of any, *Rom. 13.*

Peace. Deare *Truth*, in this 11 head concerning the *Magistrates* power in *Worship*, you have examined what is affirmed: that the *Magistrate* may doe in point of *Worship*, there remains a second; to wit, that which they say the *Magistrate* may not doe in *Worship*.

They

The Civill
horne or power being of a
humane constitution cannot
but be of a humane operation.
The Civill
power owes things to the
true Church
of Christ.

1. Approbation.

2. Submission.

3. Protection.

The Civill
Magistrate
owes to false
worshippers.
1. Permission.

2. Protection.

They say, "The Magistrate may not bring in set formes of prayer: Nor secondly, bring in significant ceremonies: Nor thirdly, not govern and rule the acts of worship in the Church of God, for which they bring an excellent similitude of a Prince or Magistrate in a ship, where he hath no governing power over the actions of the mariners: and secondly, that excellent prophesie concerning Christ Jesus, that his government should be upon his shoulders, *Isa. 9. 6. 7.*

Truth. Unto all this I willingly subscribe: Yet can I not passe by a most injurious and unequall practice toward the Civill Magistrate: Ceremonies, Holy dayes, Common Prayer, and what ever else dislikes their consciences, that the Magistrate must not bring in: Others againe as learned, as godly, as wise, have conceived the Magistrate may approve or permit these in the Church, and all men are bound in obedience to obey him. How shal the Magistrates conscience be herein (between both) torn and distracted, if indeed the power either of establishing or abolishing in Church matters bee committed to him?

Secondly, me thinkes in this case they deale with the Civill Magistrate as the Souldiers deale with the Lord Jesus: First they take off his owne clothes, and put upon him a purple Robe, plat a Crowne of Thornes on his head, bow the knee, and salute him by the name of King of the Jewes.

They tell him that he is the Keeper of both Tables, he must see the Church doe her duty, he must establish the true Church, true Ministry, true Ordinances, he must keepe her in this purity. Againe, hee must abolish superstition, and punish false Churches, false Ministers, even to banishment, and death.

Thus indeed doe they make the blood run downe the head of the civill Magistrate, from the thorny vexation of that power which sometimes they crowne him with (whence in great States, Kingdoms or Monarchies, necessarily arise delegations of that spirituall power, High Commissions, &c.)

Anon againe they take off his purple robe, put him into his own clothes, and tell him that he hath no power to command what is against their conscience. They cannot conforme to a set form of prayer, nor to Ceremonies, nor Holy dayes, &c. although the civill Magistrate (that most pious Prince *Edw. 6.* and his famous Bishops (afterwards burnt for Christ) were of another conscience: which of these two consciences shall stand, if either Magistrate must put forth his civill

The Civill Magistrates conscience torne and distracted between the divers and contrary affirmations even of the most godly Reformers.

The Authors of these positions deal with the Civill Magistrate, as the souldiers deale with the Lord Jesus.

The rise of high Commissions, &c.

Pious Magistrates and Ministers consciences are perswaded for that, which other Magistrates consciences condemn.

power.

power in these cases, the strongest *arme of flesh* and most conquering bloody sword of Steele can alone decide the Question.

I confesse it is most true, that no *Magistrate* (as no other superior) is to be obeyed in any matter displeasing to God: yet, when in matters of *worship* we ascribe the absolute *headship* and government to the *Magistrate*, (as to keepe the *Church* pure, and force her to her duty, *Ministers* and *People*) and yet take unto our selves power to judge what is right in our owne eyes, and to judge the *Magistrate* in and for those very things, wherein we confesse he hath power to see us doe our duty, and therefore consequently must judge what our duty is: what is this but to play with *Magistrates*, with the *soules* of men, with *Heaven*, with *God*, with *Christ Iesus*: &c.

CHAP. CXXVI.

Peace. **P**ASSE on (holy *Truth*) to that *similitude* whereby they illustrate that *Negative Assertion*: "The Prince in the Ship (say they) is *governour* over the bodies of all in the Ship, but hee hath no power to governe the Ship or the *Mariners* in the *Alli-* ons of it: If the *Pilot* manifestly erre in his *Action*, the Prince may reprove him, (and so say they may any *passenger*) if hee offend against the *life* or *goods* of any, the Prince may in due time and place punish him, which no private person may.

Truth. Although (deare *Peace*) wee both agree that *civill powers* may not injoyne such devices, no nor inforce on any *Gods Institutions*, since (*Christ Iesus* his comming: Yet for further illustration I shall propose some *Queries* concerning the *civill Magistrates* passing in the ship of the *Church*, wherein *Christ Iesus* hath appointed his *Ministers* and *Officers* as *Governours* and *Pilots*, &c.

First querie: If in a ship at Sea, wherein the *Governour* or *Pilot* of a ship undertakes to carry the ship to such a Port, the *civill Magistrate* (suppose a *King* or *Emperour*) shall command the *Master* such and such a course, to steere upon such or such a point, which the *Master* knowes is not their course, and which if they steere he shall never bring the Ship to that Port or harbour: what shall the *Master* doe? Surely all men will say, the *Master* of the Ship or *Pilot* is to present *Reasons* and *Arguments* from his *Mariners* Art (if the Prince bee capable of them) or else in humble and submissive manner to persuade the Prince not to interrupt them in their course and duty properly

perly belonging to them, to wit, governing of the ship, steering of the course, &c.

If the *Master* of the Ship command the *Mariners* thus and thus, in cuming the ship, managing the helme, trimming the saile, and the *Prince* command the *Mariners* a different or contrary course, who is to be obeyed?

It is confest that the *Mariners* may lawfully disobey the *Prince*, and obey the *governour* of the ship in the actions of the ship.

Thirdly, what if the *Prince* have as much skill (which is rare) as the *Pilot* himselfe? I conceive it will be answered, that the *Master* of the ship and *Pilot*, in what concerns the ship, are *chiefe* and above (in respect of their office) the *Prince* himselfe, and their commands ought to be attended by all the *Mariners*: unlesse it bee in manifest errour, wherein tis granted any passenger may reprove the *Pilot*.

Fourthly, I aske if the *Prince* and his *Attendants* be unskillfull in the ships affaires, whether every *Sayler* and *Mariner*, the youngest and lowest, be not (so farre as concernes the ship) to be preferred before the *Princes followers*, and the *Prince* himselfe? and their counsel and advice more to be attended to, and their service more to be desired and respected, and the *Prince* to be requested to stand by and let the *businessse* alone in their hands.

Fifthly, in case a wilfull *King* and his *Attendants*, out of opinion of their skill, or wilfulnesse of passion, would so steere the course, trim sayle, &c. as that in the judgement of the *Master* and *Seamen* the ship and lives shall bee indangered: whether (in case humble perswasions prevaile not) ought not the *Ships company* to refuse to act in such a course, yea and (in case power be in their hands) resist and suppress these dangerous practices of the *Prince* and his followers, and so save the ship?

Lastly, suppose the *Master* out of base feare and cowardise, or covetous desire of reward, shall yeeld to gratifie the minde of the *Prince*, contrary to the rules of Art and Experience, &c. and the ship come in danger, and perish, and the *Prince* with it: if the *Master* get to shore, whether may he not be justly questioned, yea and suffer as guilty of the *Princes* death, and those that perished with him? These cases are cleare, wherein according to this similitude, the *Prince* ought not to governe and rule the actions of the ship, but such whose office and charge and skill it is.

2. Querie.
If the Mr. of the Ship command the mariners thus, & the Prince command the contrary, who is to be obeyed?

If the Prince have as much skill as the Mr. or Pilot, &c.

4. Querie.

5. Querie.
Whether the meaneſt saylor (in respect of his skill and service) be not to be preferred before the Prince himself

6. Querie.
Whether if the Mr. of the ship gratifie the Prince to the casting away of the ship and Prince, &c. he be not guilty and liable to answer?

The applicati-
on in generall
of the Ship to
the Church,
&c.

The result of all is this: The Church of Christ is the Ship, where-
in the Prince (if a member, for otherwise the case is altered) is a
passenger. In this ship the Officers and Governours, such as are
appointed by the Lord Jesus, they are the chiefe, and (in those re-
spects) above the Prince himselfe, and are to bee obeyed and sub-
mitted to in their works and administrations, even before the Prince
himselfe.

The meanest
Christian ac-
cording to his
knowledge and
grace, to bee
preferred be-
fore the high-
est who have
received none
or lesse grace
of Christ.

In this respect every Christian in the Church, man or woman (if
of more knowledge and grace of Christ) ought to be of higher es-
teeme (concerning *Religion* and *Christianity*) then all the Princes
in the world, who have either none or lesse grace or knowledge of
Christ: although in *civill* things all *civill* reverence, honour and obe-
dience ought to be yeelded by all men.

A true Mini-
ster of Christ
ought to walk
by another
rule then the
command of
Civill Autho-
rity in Spiritu-
all causes.

Therefore, if in matters of *Religion* the King command what is
contrary to *Christs* rule (though according to his *perswasion* and
conscience) who sees not that (according to the similitude) he ought
not to be obeyed? yea, and (in case) boldly with spiritual force
and power he ought to be resisted: And if any Officer of the Church
of Christ shall out of basenesse yeeld to the command of the Prince,
to the danger of the Church, and soules committed to his charge,
the soules that perish (notwithstanding the Princes command)
shall be laid to his charge.

Former positi-
ons compared
with this simi-
litude, and
found to con-
tradict each
other.

If so then, I rejoyne thus: How agree these truths of this simi-
litude with those former positions, viz. that the Civill Magistrate
is keeper of both Tables, That he is to see the Church doe her duty,
That he ought to establish the true Religion, suppress and punish
the false, and so consequently must discern, judge and determine
what the true gathering and governing of the Church is; what the
dutie of every Minister of Christ is; what the true Ordinances are,
and what the true Administrations of them; and where men faile,
correct, punish, and reforme by the Civill Sword: I desire it may be
answered in the feare and pretence of him whose eyes are as a flame
of fire, if this be not (according to the similitude, though contrary
to their scope in proposing of it) to be Governour of the Ship of the
Church, to see the Master, Pilot, and Mariners do their duty, in set-
ting the course, steering the ship, trimming the sailes, keeping the
watch, &c. and where they faile, to punish them; and therefore by
undeniable consequence, to judge and determine what their duties
are, when they doe right, and when they doe wrong: and this not
onely

only in *manifest Error*, (for then they say every passenger may reprove) but in their *ordinary* course and practice.

The similitude of a *Physitian* obeying the *Prince* in the *Body* politick; but prescribing to the *Prince* concerning the *Princes body*, wherein the *Prince* (unless the *Physitian* manifestly erre) is to be obedient to the *Physitian*, and not to be *Judge* of the *Physitian* in his *Art*, but to be ruled and judged (as touching the state of his *body*) by the *Physitian*: I say this similitude and many others suiting with the former of a *ship*, might be alleadged to prove the *distinction* of the *Civill* and *Spiritual* estate, and that according to the rule of the *Lord Jesus* in the *Gospel*, the *Civill Magistrate* is only to attend the Calling of the *Civill Magistracie*, concerning the *bodies* and *goods* of the *Subjects*, and is himselfe (if a *member* of the *Church* and within) subject to the power of the *Lord Jesus* therein, as any member of the *Church* is, 1 Cor. 5.

The similitude of the *Magistrate* prescribing to the *Physitian* in civill things but the *Physitian* to the *Magistrate* concerning his *body*.

CHAP. CXXVII.

Peace. **D**eare *Truth*, you have uprightly and aptly untied the *knots* of that 11 Head, let me present you with the 12 Head, which is

Concerning the *Magistrates* power in the *Censures* of the *Church*.

“First (say they) he hath no power to execute or to substitute any *Civill* officer to execute any *Church* censure, under the notion of *Civill* or *Ecclesiasticall* men.

“Secondly, Though a *Magistrate* may immediately *Civilly* censure such an offender, whose secret finnes are made manifest by their casting out, to be injurious to the good of the *State*; yet such offences of excommunicate persons, which manifestly hurt not the good of the *State*, he ought not to proceed against them, sooner or later, untill the *Church* hath made her complaint to him, and given in their just Reasons for helpe from them: For to give libertie to *Magistrates* without exception to punish all excommunicate persons within so many moneths, may prove injurious to the person who needs, to the *Church* who may desire, & to *God* who calls for longer indulgence from the hands of the.

“Thirdly, for persons not excommunicate, the *Magistrate* hath no power immediately to censure such offences of *Church* members by the power of the *Sword*, but onely for such as doe immediately

The 12 Head examined.

“diately hurt the peace of the State: Because the proper end of
 “Civill Government being the preservation of the peace and wel-
 “fare of the State, they ought not to breake downe those bounds,
 “and so to censure immediately for such sins which hurt not their
 “peace.

“Hence, first, Magistrates have no power to censure for secret
 “sinnes, as deadnesse, unbeleeefe, because they are secret, and not
 “yet come forth immediately to hurt the peace of the State; we say
 “immediately, for every sinne, even originall sinne, remotely hurts
 “the Civill State.

“Secondly, hence they have no power to censure for such pri-
 “vate sinnes in Church members, which being not hainous may
 “be best healed in a private way by the Churches themselves. For
 “that which may be best healed by the Church, and yet is profes-
 “ted by the State, may make a deeper wound and greater rent in
 “the peace both of Church and State: the Magistrates also being
 “members of the Church, are bound to the rule of Christ, *viz.* not
 “to produce any thing in publike against a brother, which may bee
 “best healed in a private way.

“Now we call that private,

“First, which is only remaining in Families, not knowne of o-
 “thers: and therefore a Magistrate to heare and prosecute the
 “complaint of children against their parents, servants against ma-
 “sters, wives against their husbands, without acquainting the
 “Church first, transgresseth the rule of Christ.

“Secondly, that which is between members of the same Church
 “or of divers Churches: for, it was a double fault of the Corin-
 “thians (1 Cor. 6.) first to goe to Law, secondly to doe it before an
 “Infidell, seeing the Church was able to judge of such kinde of
 “differences by some Arbitratours among themselves: So that
 “the Magistrates should referre the differences of Church mem-
 “bers to private healing, and try that way first: By meanes
 “whereof the Churches should be free from much scandall, and the
 “State from much trouble, and the hearts of the godly from much
 “griefe in beholding such breaches.

“Thirdly, such offences which the Conscience of a Brother dea-
 “ling with another privately, dares not as yet publish openly,
 “comming to the notice of the Magistrate accidentally, he ought
 “not to make publike as yet, nor to require the Grand Jurie to

“pre-

“ present the same, no more then the other private brother, who is
 “ dealing with him, untill hee see some issue of the private way.

“ Thirdly, hence they have no power to put any to an oath *ex*
 “ *officio*, to accuse themselves, or the brethren, in case either *crimi-*
 “ *nis suspecti*, or *pratenſi*, because this preserves not, but hurts many
 “ wayes the peace of the State, and abuseſh the ordinance of an
 “ Oath, which is ordained to end controversies, not to begin them,
 “ Heb. 6. 16.

“ Fourthly, hence they have no power to censure any for such
 “ offences as breake either no Civill Law of God, or Law of the
 “ State published according to it, for the peace of the State being
 “ preserved by wholesome Laws, when they are not hurt, the peace
 “ is not hurt.

Trueb. In this passage (as I said before) I observe how weakly
 and partially they deal with the soules of *Magistrates* in telling
 them they are the *Guardians* of both *Tables*, must see the *Church*
 doe her duty, punish, &c. and yet in this passage the *Elders* or *Min-*
isters of the *Churches* not only sit *Judges* over the *Magistrates* acti-
 ons in *Church* affaires, but in *civill* also, straitning and enlarging his
commission according to the particular interests of their owne ends
 or (at the best) their Conſciences.

I grant the *Word* of the *Lord* is the only rule, light and lanthorn, in
 all cases concerning God or Man: and that the *Ministers* of the *Go-*
spell are to teach this way, hold out this *Lanthorne* unto the feete of
 all men: but to give such an absolute power in *Spiritual* things to
 the *Civill Magistrate*, and yet after their owne ends or *Conſciences* to
 abridge it, is but the former sporting with holy things, and to walk
 in *Contradictions*, as before I noted.

Many of the particulars, I acknowledge true, where the *Magi-*
strate is a *Member* of the *Church*: yet some passages call for *Expli-*
cation, and some for *Observation*.

First, in that they say, the *Civill Magistrate* ought not to pro-
 ceed against the offences of an *Excommunicate* person, which ma-
 nifestly hurt not the good of the *state*, untill the *Church* hath made
 her complaint for helpe from them, I observe 2 things:

First, a cleare grant, that when the *Church* complayneth for
 helpe, then the *Magistrate* may punish such offences as hurt not the
 good of the *state*: and yet in a few lines after, they say, the *Magi-*
strates have no power to censure such offences of *Church* members

To give the
 government of
 the Church to
 the Civill Ma-
 gistrate (as be-
 fore) and yet
 to abridge his
 conscience,
 what is it but
 to sport with
 holy things?
 &c.

An evident
 contradiction.

An excellent
confession of
the proper end
of Civill Go-
vernment.
When Civill
Lawes are
not broken,
it is confest
that Civill
Peace is not
hurt.

by the power of the *civill sword*, but only such, as doe immediately hurt the *peace* of the *civill state*; and they adde the *Reason*, because the proper end of the *civill Government*, being the preservation of the *peace* and *welfare* of the *state*, they ought not to breake downe those *bounds*, and so to censure immediately for such *sinnes* which hurt not their *peace*. And in the last place, they acknowledge the *Magistrate* hath no power to punish any, for any such offences as breake no *civill Law* of *God*, or *Law* of the *state*, published according to it: For the *peace* of the *state*, (say they) being preserved by wholesome *Lawes*, when they are not hurt, the *Peace* is not hurt.

CHAP. CXXVIII.

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, here are excellent confessions unto which both *Truth* and *Grace* may gladly assent: but what is your second Observation from hence?

A grievous
charge against
the Christian
Church, and
the King of it.

Truth. I observe secondly, what a deepe charge of *weaknes* is layd upon the *Church of Christ*, the *Lawes*, *Government* and *Officers* thereof, and consequently upon the *Lord Jesus* himselte: to wit, that the *Church* is not enabled with all the power of *Christ*, to censure sufficiently an *offendour* (on whom yet they have executed the *deepest censure* in the world, to wit, *cutting off from Christ*, *shutting out of Heaven*, *casting to the Divell*) which offendours crime reacheth not to hurt the good of the *civill state*, but that she is forced to make *complaint* to the *civill state*, and the *Officers* thereof, for their helpe.

O let not this be told in *Gath*, nor heard in *Ashkalon*! and O! how dimme must needs that *eye* be, which is *blood shot*, with that *bloody* and cruell *Tenent of Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*?

Peace. But what should be meant by this passage? *viz.* "That they cannot give *liberty* to the *Magistrate* to punish without exception all *excommunicate* persons, within so many *months*."

A strange law
in New Eng-
land formerly
against Ex-
communicate
persons.

Truth. It may be this hath reference to a *Law* made formerly in *New England*, that if an *excommunicate* person repented not within (as I have heard) three *months* after sentence of *excommunication*, then the *Civill Magistrate* might proceed with him.

These *worthy men* see cause to question this *Law* upon good *reasons* rendred, though it appears not by their words that they wholly condemne it, only they desire a longer time, implying that after
some

Some longer time the Magistrate may proceed : and indeed I see not, but according to such *principles*, if the *Magistrate* himselfe should be cast out, he ought to be proceeded against by the *Civill State*, and consequently deposed and punished (as the *Pope* teacheth) yea though happily he had not offended against either *bodies* or *goods* of any subject.

Thirdly, from this true *confession* that the *Magistrate* ought not to punish for many sinnes above mentioned : I observe how they crosse the *plea* which commonly they bring for the *Magistrates* punishing of false *Doctrines*, *Heretiques*, &c. [viz. Rom. 13. The *Magistrate* is to punish them that doe evill :] and when it is answered, True, evill against the *Second Table*, which is there onely spoken of, and against the *Bodies* and *Goods* of the *Subject*, which are the proper *object* of the *Civill Magistrate*, (as they confesse :) It is replied, why is not *Idolatri* sinne? *Heresie* sinne? *Schisme* and false *Worship* sinne? Yet heere in this passage many *evils*, many *sins*, even of *Parents* against their *Children*, *Masters* against their *Servants*, *Husbands* against their *Wives*, the *Magistrate* ought not to meddle with.

Fourthly, I dare not assent to that assertion, "That even *originall sinne* remotely hurts the *civill State*." Tis true, some doe, as *inclinations* to murder, theft, whoredome, slander, disobedience to *Parents* and *Magistrates* : but blindness of minds, hardness of heart, inclination to choose or worship this or that *God*, this or that *Christ*, beside the true, these hurt not remotely the *civill state*, as not concerning it, but the *spirituall*.

Peace. Let me (in the last place) remind you of their charge against the *Magistrate*, and which will necessarily turne to my wrong and prejudice : They say, the *Magistrate* in hearing and prosecuting the *complaints* of children against their *parents*, of *servants* against their *masters*, of *wives* against their *husbands*, without acquainting the *Church* first, transgresseth the rule of *Christ*.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, they that pretend to be thy dearest friends, will prove thy bitter enemies.

First, I ask for one rule out of the *Testament* of the Lord *Jesus*, to prove this deepe charge and accusation against the *Civill Magistrate*?

Secondly, This is built upon a supposition of what rarely falls out in the World, to wit, that there must necessarily be a true Church of *Christ*.

A dangerous doctrine against all civill Magistrates.

Many sins prohibited to be punished by the Magistrate and yet they also charge him to punish all sin, Rom. 13.

Original sin charged to hurt remotely (but falsely) the civill state.

Magistrates strangely forbidden to hear civill complaints.

Thousands of Common-wealths where no true church of *Christ*.

Church of Christ (in every lawfull State) unto whom these complaints must goe : whereas how many thousand Common-weales have been and are, where the name of Christ hath not (or not truly) been founded.

Thirdly, The Magistrates office (according to their own grant) properly respecting the bodies and goods of their *Subjects*, and the whole *body* of the *Common-weale* being made up of *Families* (as the *members* constituting that *body*) I see not how (according to the rule of *Christ* (*Rom.13.*) the *Magistrate* may refuse to heare and helpe the just *complaints* of any such *petitioners*, Children, Wives, and Servants, against *oppression*, &c.

The complaints of families properly fall into the cognizance of the civill Magistrate.

They who give to Magistrates more then is due, are most apt to disrobe them of what is theirs.

Peace. I have long observed that such as have been ready to ascribe to the *Civill Magistrate* and his *Sword* more then *God* hath ascribed, have also been most ready to cut off the skirts, and (in case of his inclining to another *conscience* then their owne) to spoile him of the robe of that due *Authoritie* with which it hath pleased God and the People to invest and cloath him.

But I shall now present you with the 13. Head : whose Title is,

CHAP. CXXIX.

13. Head.

What power Magistrates have in publike Assemblies of Churches.

“ First (say they) the Churches have power to assemble and continue such Assemblies for the performance of all Gods Ordinances, without or against the consent of the Magistrate, *renuente Magistratu*, because

“ Christians are commanded so to doe, *Matth.28.18.19.20.*

“ Also because an Angel from God commanded the Apostles so to doe, *Acts 5.20.*

“ Likewise from the practice of the Apostles, who were not rebellious or seditious, yet they did so, *Act. 4.18.19.20. Act. 5.27.28.*

“ Further from the practice of the Primitive Church at Jerusalem, who did meet, preach, pray, minister Sacraments, censures, *Act.4.23. renuente Magistratu.*

“ More-

“Moreover from the exhortation to the Hebrewes, 10. 25. not
 “to forsake their Assemblies, though it were in dangerous times, and
 “if they might doe this under professed Enemies, then we may
 “much more under Christian Magistrates; else we were worse un-
 “der Christian Magistrates then Heathen: therefore Magistrates
 “may not hinder them herein, as *Pharaoh* did the people from sa-
 “crificing, for Wrath will be upon the Realme, and the King and
 “his Sons, *Ezra* 7. 23.

Secondly, it hath been a usurpation of forraigne Countries and
 “Magistrates to take upon them to determine times and places of
 “Worship: rather let the Churches be left herein to their inof-
 “fensive Libertie.

Thirdly, concerning their power of Synod Assemblies:

“First in corrupt times, the Magistrate desirous to make Reformation of Religion, may and should call those who are most fit in
 “severall Churches, to assemble together in a Synod, to discusse
 “and declare from the Word of God, matters of Doctrine and
 “Worship, and to helpe forward the Reformation of the Churches
 “God: Thus did *Josiah*.

Secondly, in the reformed times he ought to give Libertie to
 “the Elders of severall Churches, to assemble themselves by their
 “owne mutuall and voluntary agreement, at convenient times, as
 “the meanes appointed by God, whereby he may mediately reform
 “matters amisse in Churches, which immediately he cannot nor
 “ought not to doe.

Thirdly, Those meetings for this end we conceive may be of
 “two sorts.

“1. Monthly, of some of the Elders and Messengers of the
 “Churches.

“2. Annuall, of all the Messengers and Elders of the Churches.

“First monthly of some: First, those members of Churches which
 “are neereft together, and so may most conveniently assemble to-
 “gether, may by mutuall agreement once in a moneth consult of
 “such things as make for the good of the Churches.

“Secondly, the time of this meeting may be sometimes at one
 “place, sometimes at another, upon the Lecture day of every
 “Church where Lectures are: and let the Lecture that day be en-
 “ded by eleven of the clock.

"Thirdly, let the end of this Assembly be to doe nothing by way of Authoritie, but by way of Councell, as the need of Churches shall require.

Secondly Annuall, of all the Elders within our jurisdiction or others, whereto the Churches may send once in the yeare to consult together for the publike welfare of all the Churches.

"First, let the place be sometimes at one Church, sometimes at another, as Reasons for the present may require.

"Secondly, let all the Churches send their waighly questions and cases six weeks or a month before the set time, to the Church where the Assembly is to be held, and the Officers thereof dispute them speedily to all the Churches, that so they may have time to come prepared to the discussing of them.

"Thirdly, let this Assembly doe nothing by Authoritie, but only by Councell, in all cases which fall out, leaving the determination of all things to particular Churches within themselves, who are to judge, and so to receive all doctrines and directions agreeing only with the Word of God.

The grounds of these Assemblies.

"First, need of each others helpe, in regard of dayly emergent troubles, doubts, and controversies.

"Secondly, love of each others fellowship.

"Thirdly, of Gods glory out of a publike spirit to seeke the welfare of the Churches, as well as their owne, 1 Cor. 10. 33. 2 Cor. 11. 23.

Fourthly, The great blessing and speciall presence of God upon such Assemblies hitherto.

Fifthly, the good Report the Elders and Brethren of Churches shall have hereby, by whose communion of Love others shall know they are the Disciples of Christ.

CHAP. CXXX.

A strange
double picture

Truth. May well compare this passage to a double picture: on the first part or side of it a most faire and beautifull countenance of the pure and holy Word of God: on the later side or part, a most fowre and uncomely deformed looke of a incere humane invention.

Con-

Concerning the former, they prove the true and unquestionable power and privilege of the Churches of Christ to assemble and practise all the holy Ordinances of God, without or against the consent of the Magistrate.

Their Arguments from Christs and the Angels voyce, from the Apostles and Churches practice, I desire may take deepe impression written by the point of a diamond, the finger of Gods spirit, in all hearts whom it may concerne.

This Libertie of the Churches of Christ he enlargeth and amplifieth so far, that he calls it an usurpation of some Magistrates to determine the time and place of Worship: and say, that rather the Churches should be left to their inoffensive libertie.

Upon which Grant I must renew my former Querie, Whether this be not to walke in contradictions, to hold with light, yet walke in darknes? for

How can they say the Magistrate is appointed by God and Christ the Guardian of the Christian Church and worship, bound to set up the true Church, Ministrie and Ordinances, to see the Church doe her duty, that is, to force her to it by the Civill sword: bound to suppress the false Church, Ministrie and Ordinances, and therefore consequently, to judge and determine which is the true Church, which is the false, and what is the duty of the Church officers and members of it, and what not: and yet (say they) the Churches must assemble, and practice all Ordinances, without his consent, yea against it: Yea and he hath not so much power as to judge what is a convenient time and place for the Churches to assemble in; which if he should doe, he should be an usurper, and should abridge the Church of her inoffensive libertie.

As if the Master or Governour of a Ship had power to judge who were true and fit officers, mariners, &c. for the managing of the Ship, and were bound to see them each performe his duty, and to force them thereunto, and yet he should be an usurper if hee should abridge them of meeting and managing the vessel at their pleasure, when they please, and how they please, without and against his consent: Certainly if a Physitian have power to judge the disease of his patient, and what courtes of Physicke he must use, can he be counted an usurper unless the patient might take what physicke himselfe pleased, day or night, summer or winter, at home in his chamber, or abroad in the aire?

The great privileges of the true Spouse or Church of Christ.

To hold with light and walk in darknesse.

The Magistrate lift up to be the chief governour of the Church, and yet cast downe not to have power to appoint the place or time of meeting.

A Similitudes illustrating the Magistrate cannot be both governor of the Church and yet usurper in commanding.

If a Church may assemble without and against the Magistrates consent (as is affirmed) then much more constitute and become a Church, &c.

Grosse partiality.

If the Civill Magistrate be to build the Spirituall or Christian house, he must judge of the matter.

A close and faithfull inter-gatory to the consciences of the authors of these positions

A sad querie to some concerning their practice.

Secondly, by their *grant* in this passage that *Gods* people may thus assemble and practice *ordinances* without and against the consent of the *Magistrate*. I infer, then also may they become a *Church*, constitute and gather without or against the consent of the *Magistrate*: Therefore may the *Messengers of Christ*, preach and baptise, that is, make *disciples* and wash them into the true profession of *Christianity* according to the *commission*, though the *Magistrate* determine and publickly declare, such *Ministers*, such *baptismes*, such *Churches* to be hereticall.

Thirdly, it may here be questioned what power is now given to the *Civill Magistrate* in *Church matters* and *Spirituall affairs*?

If it be answered that although *Gods* people may doe thus against the *Magistrates* consent, yet others may not.

I answer (as before) who sees not herein partiality to themselves: *Gods* people must enjoy their *Liberty of Conscience*, and not be forced; but all the *Subjects* in a *Kingdome* or *Monarchie*, or the whole world beside, must be compelled by the power of the *Civill Sword* to assemble thus and thus.

Secondly, I demand who shall judge whether they are *Gods* people or no, for they say whether the *Magistrate* consent or consent not, that is judge so or not, they ought to goe on in the *Ordinances* *renuente Magistratu*?

How agrees this with their former and generall assertion, that the *Civill Magistrate* must set up the *Christian Church* and *Worship*, therefore by their owne grant he must judge the godly themselves, he must discern who are fit matter for the *House of God*, living *stones*, and what unfit matter, *trash* and *rubbish*?

Those worthy men, the *Authours* of these positions, and others of their judgement have cause to examine their soules with feare and trembling in the presence of *God* upon this inter-gatory, viz. whether or no this be not the *bottom* and *root* of the matter: If they could have the same supply of maintenance without the helpe of the *Civill Sword*, or were perswaded to live upon the voluntary contribution of poore *Saints*, or their owne labour, as the *Lord Jesus* and his first *Messengers* did: I say, if this lay not in the *bottom*, whether or no they could not be willingly shut of the *Civill power*, and left on-ly to their *inoffensive liberties*?

I could also put a sad *Querie* to the consciences of some, viz. what should be the reason why in their *native Country*, where the *Magi-strate*

strate consented not, they forbore to practice such Ordinances as now they doe and intended to doe, so soone as they got into another place where they might set up *Magistrates* of their owne, and a *Civill Sword*, &c. How much is it to be feared that in case their *Magistracie* should alter, or their persons be cast under a *Magistracie* prohibiting their practice, whether they would then maintaine their *separate* meetings without and against the consent of the Magistrate, *renuente Magistratu*?

Lastly, it may be questioned how it comes to passe that in pleading for the *Churches liberty* more now under the *Christian Magistrate*, since the *Christians* tooke that *liberty* in dangerous times under the *Heathen*, why he quotes to prove such liberty, *Pharaohs* hindring the *Israelites* from worship, and *Ezra 7. 23.* *Artaxerxes* his feare of wrath upon the Realme?

Are not all their hopes and arguments built upon the *Christian Magistrate*, whom (say they) the first *Christians* wanted, and yet do they scare the *Christian Magistrate* (whom they account the *governour* of the *Church*) with *Pharaoh* and *Artaxerxes* that knew not God, expecting that the *Christian Magistrate* should act and command no more in Gods worship then they?

But what can those instances of *Pharaohs* evill in hindring the *Israelites* worshipping of God, and *Artaxerxes* giving liberty to *Israel* to worship God, and build the *Temple*, what can they prove but a duty in all *Princes* and *Civill Magistrates* to take off the yoke of bondage, which commonly they lay on the necks of the soules of their *subjects* in matters of *Conscience* and *Religion*?

CHAP. CXXXI.

Peace. IT is plausible, but not reasonable that Gods people should (considering the drift of these positions) expect more liberty under a *Christian* then under a *Heathen Magistrate*: Have Gods people more liberty to breake the command of a *Christian* then an *Heathen governour*? and so to set up *Christs Church* and Ordinances after their owne conscience against his consent more then against the consent of an *Heathen* or unbeleeving *Magistrate*? what is become of all the great expectation what a *Christian Magistrate* may and ought to doe in establishing the *Church*, in reforming the *Church*, and in punishing the contrary? 'Tis true (say

A marvailous challenge of more Libertie to Christians under a Christian Magistrate then under the Heathen.

If Magistrates were appointed by Christ Jesus Governours of his Kingdome, it were not reasonable that Christians should more freely breake the commands of the Christian, then of the Heathen Magistrate.

men) in *Christs* time and in the time of the first *Ministers* and *Churches* there were no *Christian Magistrates*, and therefore in that case, it was in vaine for *Christians* to seeke unto the *Heathen Magistrates* to governe the *Church*, suppress *Hereticks*, &c. but now we enjoy *Christian Magistrates*, &c.

Truth. All *Reason* and *Religion* would now expect more submission therefore (in matters concerning *Christ*) to a *Christian Magistrate*, then to a *Pagan* or *Antichristian* ruler ! But (deare *Peace*) the day will discover, the fire will trie, 1 *Cor.* 3. what is but wood, hay, and stubble, though built (in mens upright intention) on that foundation *Iesus Christ*.

The necessity of Civill government in generall of God, but the speciall kindes of men, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13.

But (to winde up all) as it is most true that *Magistracy* in generall is of God (*Rom.* 13.) for the preservation of Mankinde in civill order and peace, (the *World* other wise would bee like the *Sea*, wherein Men, like *Fishes* would hunt and devoure each other, and the greater devour the lesse :) So also it is true, that *Magistracy* in speciall for the severall kindes of it is of Man, 1. *Pet.* 2. 13. Now what kinde of *Magistrate* soever the people shall agree to set up, whether he receive *Christianity* before he be set in office, or whether he receive *Christianity* after, hee receives no more power of *Magistracy*, then a *Magistrate* that hath received no *Christianity*. For neither of them both can receive more, then the *Commonweal*, the *Body of People* and *civill State*, as men, communicate unto them, and betrust with them.

Civill Magistrates are derivatives from the fountaines or bodies of people.

All lawfull *Magistrates* in the *World*, both before the coming of *Christ Iesus*, and since, (excepting those unpareld typicall *Magistrates* of the *Church* of *Israel*) are but *Derivatives* and *Agents* immediately derived and employed as *eyes* and *hands*, serving for the good of the whole : Hence they have and can have no more *Power*, then fundamentally lies in the *Bodies* or *Fountaines* themselves, which *Power*, *Might*, or *Authority*, is not *Religious*, *Christian*, &c. but natural, humane and civill.

A beleeving Magistrate no more a Magistrate than an unbelieving.

And hence it is true, that a *Christian Captaine*, *Christian Merchant*, *Physitian*, *Lawyer*, *Pilot*, *Father*, *Master*, and (so consequently) *Magistrate*, &c. is no more a *Captaine*, *Merchant*, *Physitian*, *Lawyer*, *Pilot*, *Father*, *Master*, *Magistrate*, &c. then a *Captaine*, *Merchant*, &c. of any other Conscience or Religion.

The excellencie of Christianity in all callings.

This true, Christianity teacheth all these to act in their severall callings, to an higher ultimate end, from higher principles, in a
more

more heavenly and spirituall manner, &c.

CHAP. CXXXII.

Peace. O that thy *Light* and *Brightnes* (deare *Truth*) might shine to the darke World in this particular: let it not therefore be grievous, if I request a little further illustration of it.

Truth. In his season *God* will glorifie himselfe in all his *Truths*: but to gratifie thy desire, thus: A *Pagan* or *Antichristian Pilot* may be as skilfull to carry the Ship to its desired Port, as any *Christian Mariner* or *Pilot* in the World, and may performe that worke with as much safety and speed: yet have they not command over the soules and consciences of their passengers or mariners under them, although they may justly see to the labour of the one, and the civill behaviour of all in the ship: A *Christian Pilot* he performes the same worke, (as likewise doth the Metaphoricall *Pilot* in the ship of the *Commonweale*) from a principle of knowledge and experience: but more then this, he acts from a roote of the feare of *God* and love to man^{ind}, in his whole course. Secondly, his aime is more to glorifie *God* then to gaine his pay, or make his voyage. Thirdly, he walkes heavenly with Men, and *God*, in a constant observation of *Gods* hand in stormes, calmes, &c. So that the thread of *Navigation* being equally spun by a believing or unbelieving *Pilot*, yet is it drawn over with the gold of *Godlines* and *Christianitie* by a *Christian Pilot*, while he is holy in all manner of *Christianitie*, 1 Pet. 1. 15. But lastly, the *Christian Pilots* power over the Soules and consciences of his *Sailers* and *Passengers* is not greater then that of the *Antichristian*, otherwise then he can subdue the soules of any by the two-edged sword of the *Spirit*, the Word of *God*, and by his holy demeanour in his place, &c.

Peace. I shall present you with no other consideration in this first part of the Picture, but this only:

Although the tearme *Heathen* is most commonly appropriated to the wilde naked *Americans*, &c. yet these worthy men justly apply it even to the civilized *Romanes* &c. and consequently must it be applied to the most civilized *Antichristians*, who are not the Church and people of *God* in *Christ*.

Truth. The Word *Qan* in the *Hebrew*, and *Qora* in the *Greeke*, signifie no more then the *Gentiles* or *Nations* of the Earth, which were

The Magistrate like a Pilot in the Ship of the Commonweale.

Christianitie steeres a Christian Pilots course.

The Christian Pilot hath no more power over the soules of his Mariners or passengers, then the unchristian or Pagan Pilot.

The tearmes Heathen and Christian Magistrate.

All out of
Christ are hea-
thens, that is
of the Nations
or Gentiles.

were without and not within, the true typical national Church of the *Jewes* before Christ, and since his coming, the *Gentiles* or *Nations* of the *World*, who are without that one holy Nation of the *Christian Israel* the Church gathered unto Christ *Iesus* in particular and distinct congregations all the World over.

Translatours promiscuously render the words *Gentiles*, *Heathens*, *Nations*: whence it is evident that even such as professe the Name of Christ in an unregenerate and impenitent estate, whether *Papist* or *Protestant* are yet without, that is *Heathen*, *Gentiles* or of the *Nations*.

CHAP. CXXXIII.

Peace. **D**EARE *Truth*, it is now time to cast your eye on the second part of this *Head* or picture uncomely and deformed.

Truth. It contains two sorts of Religious meetings or assemblies.

First, more extraordinary and occasionall, for which he quotes the practice of *Josiah*.

Josiah a type
of Christ *Iesus*
the King of the
Church.

An. *Josiah* was in the type, so are not now the severall Governours of Commonweales, *Kings* or *Governours* of the Church or *Israel*, whose state I have proved to be a *None-such*, and not to be parallel'd but in the *Antitype* the particular Church of Christ, where Christ *Iesus* alone sits *King* in his owne most holy Government.

Secondly, they propound meetings or *assemblings* ordinary stated and constant, yearly and monthly unto which the *civill Magistrate* should give *liberty*. For these meetings they propound plausible arguments from the necessity of them from *Christian fellowship* from *Gods glory*, from the experience of the benefit of them, and from the good report of them, as also those two Scriptures, 1 Cor. 10. 33. 2 Cor. 11. 38.

An unjust and
partiall desire
of liberty to
some consci-
ences, & bond-
age unto all
others.

To these I answer, If they intend that the *civill Magistrate* should permit *liberty* to the free and voluntary Spirituall meetings of their Subjects, I shall subscribe unto them; but if they intend that the *Magistrate* should give *liberty* only unto themselves, and not to the rest of their subjects, that is to desire their owne *soules* only to be free, and all other *soules* of their subjects to be kept in *bondage*.

Secondly, if they intend that the *Magistrate* should enforce all the *Elders* of such *Churches* under their *Jurisdiction*, to keepe correspondencie with them in such meetings, then I say (as before) it is to cause him to give *Libertie* with a *partiall* hand, and *unequall Ballance*: for thus I argue: If the *Civill State* and *Civill officers* be of their *Religion* and *Conscience*, it is not proper for them to give *libertie* or *freedom*, but to give honourable *testimonie* and *approbation*, and their own personall *submission* to the *Churches*. But if the *civill State* and *Officers* be of another *conscience* and *worship*, and shall be bound to grant permission and *libertie* to them, their *consciences* and *meetings*, and not to those of his own *Religion* and *Conscience* also, how will this appeare to be equall in the very eye of *Common peace* and *righteousnesse*?

For those *yearly* and *monthly* meetings, as we find not any such in the first *Churches*; So neither will those generall arguments from the plausible pretence of *Christian fellowship*, *Gods glory*, &c. prove such particular wayes of *glorifying God*; without some *precept* or *president* of such a kind.

For those *Scriptures*, 1 Cor. 10. 33. & 2 Cor. 11. 3. expressing the *Apostle Paul* his zeale for glorifying *God*, and his care for all the *Churches*, it is cleere they concerne such as are indeed *Pauls successors*, sent forth by *Christ Jesus* to preach and gather *Churches*: but those *Scriptures* concerne not the *Churches* themselves, nor the *Pastours* of the *Churches* properly, least of all the *Civill State* and *Commonwealth*, neither of which (the *Churches*, the *Pastours*, or *Commonwealth*) doe goe forth personally with that *commission*, *Matth. 28.* to preach and baptize, that is, to gather *Churches* unto *Christ*.

For as for the first, the *Churches* are not *Ministers* of the *Gospel*: the *Angels* or *Messengers* of the *Churches*, and the *Churches* themselves were distinct, *Revel. 2. & 3.*

As for the second, the *pastours* and *Elders* of the *Church*, their worke is not to gather *Churches*, but to governe and feed them, *Acts 20. & 1 Pet. 5.*

As for the *civill Magistrate*, it is a *Ministry* indeed: (*Magistrates* are *Gods Ministers*, *Rom. 13.*) but it is of another Nature, and therefore none of these, the *Churches* of *Christ*, the *Shepherds* of those *Churches*, nor the *civill Magistrate*, succeeding the *Apostles* or first *Messengers*, these *Scriptures* alleadged concerne not any of these

The Commission *Mat. 28.* of preaching and baptizing not properly directed to the *Churches*, or fixed Teachers of it, least of all to the *Commonweale*.

A querie, who have now the care of all the *Churches*?

these to have care of all the Churches.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, who can heare this Word, but will presently cry out, Who then may rightly challenge that *commission*, and that *promise*, Math. 28. &c.

A Ministrie
before the
Church.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, in due place and season, that *Question* may be resolved; but doubtles the true *successors* must precede or goe before the *Church*, making *Disciples*, and baptizing as the *Apostles* did, who were neither the *Churches*, nor the *Pastors* and fixed *Teachers* of them, but as they gathered, so had the care of the *Churches*.

CHAP. CXXXIV.

Peace. I Cease to urge this further; and, in the last place, I marvell what should be the reason of that Conclusion, "viz. There is no power of determination in any of these meetings, but that all must be left to the particular determination of the Churches.

Acts 15. commonly misapplied.

Truth. At the meeting at *Jerusalem*, when *Paul* and *Barnabas* and others were sent thither from the *Church* of *Christ* at *Antioch*, the *Apostles* and *Elders* did not only consult and advise, but particularly determined the *Question* which the *Church* of *Antioch* sent to them, about *Acts 15.* and send their particular determinations or decrees to the *Churches* afterward.

So that if these *Assemblies* were of the nature of that pattern or precedent (as is generally pretended) and had such a promise of the assistance and concurrence of the *Spirit*, as that *Assembly* had, they might then say as that *Assembly* did, *Acts 15.* It seemeth good to the holy *Spirit* and to us: and should not leave particular determinations to the particular Churches, in which sometimes are very few able *Guides* and *Leaders*.

Christ's promise and presence only makes an Assembly blessed

Peace. But what should be the Reason to perswade these worthy men to conceive the particular *Congregations* or *Churches* to be more fit and competent *Judges* in such high points, then an *Assembly* of so excellent and choice persons, who must only consult and advise, &c.?

Truth. Doubtlesse there is a strong conviction in their Soules of a professed promised presence of the Lord *Jesus* in the midst of his *Church* gathered after his mind and will, more then unto such kind

of *Assemblies*, though consisting of far more able persons, even the *flower and creame* of all the *Churches*.

Peace. It is generally conceived, that the promise of *Christ's* presence to the end of the World (*Matth. 28.*) is made to the *Church*.

Truth. There is doubtlesse a promise of *Christ's* presence in the midst of his Church and Congregation, *Matth. 18.* but the promise of *Christ's* presence, *Matth. 28.* cannot properly and immediately belong to the *Church* constituted and gathered, but to such *Ministers* or *Messengers* of *Christ Jesus*, whom he is pleased to imploy to gather and constitute the *Church* by *converting* and *baptizing*: unto which *Messengers* (if *Christ Jesus* will be pleased to send such forth) that passage, *Acts 15.* will be *presidentiall*.

The promise of *Christ's* presence, *Mat. 18.* distinct from that, *Mat. 28.*

Peace. The 14. generall head is this, *viz.* What power particular *Churches* have particularly over *Magistrates*.

14. Position examined.

"First (say they) they may censure any Member (though a *Magistrate*) if by sinne he deserve it.

"First, because *Magistrates* must be subject to *Christ*, but *Christ* censures all offenders, *1 Cor. 5. 4. 5.*

Secondly, Every Brother must be subject to *Christ's* censure, *Mat. 18. 15, 16, 17.* But *Magistrates* are brethren, *Deut. 17. 15.*

Thirdly, They may censure all within the Church, *1 Cor. 5. 12.*

"But the *Magistrates* are within the Church, for they are either without, or within, or above the Church: not the first, nor the last, for so *Christ* is only above it.

"Fourthly, The Church hath a charge of all the Soules of the members, and must give account thereof, *Heb. 13. 17.*

"Fifthly, *Christ's* censures are for the good of Soules, *1 Cor. 5. 6.* but *Magistrates* must not be denied any priviledge for their Soules, for then they must lose a priviledge of *Christ* by being *Magistrates*.

"Sixthly, In Church priviledges Christians are all one, *Gal. 2. 28.* *Col. 3. 11.*

2. *Magistrates* may be censured for apparent and manifest sinne against any Morall Law of God, in their judiciall proceedings, or in the execution of their office. Courts are not Sanctuaries for sin; and if for no sin, then not for such especially.

"First, because sinnes of *Magistrates* in Court are as hatefull to God. 2. And as much spoken against, *Isa. 10. 1. Mic. 3. 1.*

“ Thirdly, God hath no where granted such immunity to them.
 “ Fourthly, what a brother may doe privately in case of private offence, that the Church may doe publickly in case of publicke scandall. But a private brother may admonish and reprove privately
 “ in case of any private offence, *Mat. 18. 15. Luc. 19. 17. Psal. 141. 5*
 “ Lastly, Civill Magistracy doth not exempt any Church from
 “ faithfull watchfulness over any member, nor deprive a Church of
 “ her due power, nor a Church member of his due priviledge, which
 “ is to partake of every Ordinance of God, needfull and requisite to
 “ their winning and salvation. *Ergo.*

CHAP. CXXXV.

Truth. These Arguments to prove the *Magistrate* subject (even for sinne committed in judicall proceeding) I judge, like Mount *Zion*, immoveable, and every true *Christian* that is a Magistrate will judge so with mee: Yet a *Quærie* or two will not be unseasonable.

First, where they name the *Church* in this whole passage, whether they meane the *Church* without the *Ministry* or *Governours* of it, or with the *Elders* and *Governours* joyntly? and if the latter, why name they not the *Governours* at all, since that in all administrations of the *Church* the duty lies not upon the body of the *Church*, but firstly and properly upon the *Elders*.

It is true in case of the *Elders* obstinacy in apparent sinne, the *Church* hath power over him, having as much power to take down as to set up, *Col. 4.* Say to *Archippus, &c.* Yet in the ordinary dispensations and administrations of the *Ordinances*, the *Ministers* or *Elders* thereof are first charged with duty, &c.

Hence first for the *Apostles*, who converted, gathered & espoused the *Churches* to *Christ*, I question whether their power to edification was not a power over the *Churches*, as many *Scriptures* seem to imply.

Secondly, for the ordinary *Officers* ordained for the ordinary and constant guiding, feeding, and governing the *Church*, they were *Rulers, Shepheards, Bishops, or Overseers*, and to them was every letter and charge, commendation or reproofe directed. *Revel. 2. 3. Acts 20.* And that place by them quoted for the submission of the *Magistrates* to the *Church*, it mentions only submission to the *Rulers* thereof, *Heb. 13. 17.* Those excellent men concealed not this out of ignorance, and therefore most certainly in a silent way confesse that their doctrine concerning the *Magistrates* power in *Church* causes would seem

Church administrations are charged firstly upon the Ministers thereof.

The Ministers or Governours of Christs Church to be acknowledged in their dispensations.

too grosse, if they should not have named the whole *Church*, and but silently implied the *Governours* of it: And is it not wonderfull in any sober eye, how the same persons (*Magistrates*) can be exalted over the *Ministers* and *Members*, as being bound to *establish, reforme, suppress* by the *civill sword* in punishing the *body* or *goods*, and yet for the same actions (if the *Church* and *Governours* thereof so conceive) be liable to a punishment ten thousand times more transcendent, to wit, *excommunication*, a punishment reaching to their *soules* and *consciences*, and eternall estate, and this not only for *common sins*, but for those *actions* which immediately concerne the *execution* of their *civill* office, in *judicall* proceeding.

Peace. The *Prelates* in *Q. Elizabeths* dayes, kept with more plainnesse to their principles, for acknowledging the *Queen* to be *Supreme* in all *Church causes*, (according to the *Title* and *Power* of *Henry* the 8. her *Father*, taken from the *Pope*, and given to him by the *Parliament*) they professed that the *Queen* was not a *sheepe*, but under *Christ* the chiefe *Shepherd*, and that the *Church* had not power to *excommunicate* the *Queen*.

Truth. Therefore (sweet *Peace*) it was esteemed *capitall* (in that faithfull witness of so much *truth* as he saw, even unto *death*, *Mr. Barrow*) to maintaine before the *Lords* of the *Councell*, that the *Queen* her selfe was subject to the power of *Christ Jesus* in the *Church*: which *Truth* overthrew that other *Tenent*, that the *Queene* should be *Head* and *Supreme* in all *Church* causes.

Peace. Those *Bishops* according to their principles (though bad and false) dealt plainly (though cruelly) with *Mr. Barrow*: but these *Authors*, whose principles are the same with the *Bishops* (concerning the power of the *Magistrate* in *Church* affaires) though they wave the *Title*, and will not call them *Heads* or *Governors* (which now in lighter times seems too grosse) yet give they as much *spirituall* power and *authoritie* to the *civill Magistrates* to the full, as ever the *Bishops* gave unto them, although they yet also with the same breath lay all their honour in the *dust*, and make them to lick the *dust* of the feet of the *Churches*, as it is prophesied, the *Kings* and *Queens* of the *Earth* shall doe, when *Christ* makes them *nursing fathers*, and *nursing mothers*, *Isa. 49.* The *truth* is, *Christ Jesus* is honoured, when the *civill Magistrate* a member of the *Church*, punisheth any member or *Elder* of the *Church* with the *civill sword*, even to the *death*, for any crime against the *civill State* so deserving it; for he beares not the *sword* in vain.

A paradox, *Magistrates* made the *Judges* of the *Churches*, and *Governours* of them, yet censurable by them.

Queene Elizabeth is true to their principles, then many of a better spirit and profission.

Mr. Barrow is profission concerning *Queen Elizabeth*.

Is not this too like the *Popes* profission of *seruus servorum Dei*, yet hold out his slipper to the lips of *Princes*, *Kings* and *Emperours*?

And *Christ Iesus* is againe most highly honoured, when for apparent sinne in the *Magistrate*, being a member of the *Church* (for otherwise they have not to meddle with him) the *Elders* with the *Church*, admonish him and recover his Soule, or if *obstinate* in sin, cast him forth of their *Spirituall* and *Christian* fellowship, which doubtlesse they could not doe, were the *Magistrate* *supreme Governor* under *Christ* in *Ecclesiasticall* or *Church* causes, and so consequently the true heire and successour of the *Apostles*.

CHAP. CXXXVI.

15. Head examined. *Peace.* **T**He 15. Head runs thus: viz. In what cases must Churches proceed with *Magistrates* in case of offence.

“We like it well, that Churches be slower in proceeding to
 “excommunication, as of all other, so of Civill *Magistrates* especially in point of their Judicall proceedings, unless it be in scandalous breach of a manifest Law of God, and that after notorious
 “evidence of the fact, and that after due seeking and waiting for
 “satisfaction in a previous Advertisement. And though each particular Church in respect of the Government of *Christ* be independent and absolute within it selfe, yet where the Commonweale consists of Church members, it may be a point of *Christian*
 “an wisdom to consider and consult with the Court also, so far
 “as any thing may seeme doubtfull to them in the *Magistrates* case,
 “which may be further cleared by intelligence given from them; but
 “otherwise we dare not leave it in the power of any Church to
 “forbear to proceed & agree upon that on Earth, which they plainly see *Christ* hath resolved in his Word, and will ratifie in Heaven.

Truth. If the scope of this Head be to qualifie and adorne *Christian* impartialitie and faithfulness with *Christian* wisdom and tenderness, I honour and applaud such a *Christian* motion: but whereas that case is put, which is no where found in the patterne of the first Churches, nor suiting with the Rule of *Christianitie*, to wit, that the Commonweale should consist of Church members, which must be taken privatively, to wit, that none should be admitted members of the Commonweale, but such as are first members of the Church (which must necessarily run the Church upon that Temptation to feeble the pulse of the Court concerning a delinquent *Magistrate*, before they dare proceed) I say let such Practices be brought to the

the *Township* of the true frame of a *civill commonweale*, and the true frame of the *Spirituall* or *Christian commonweale*, the *Church* of *Christ*, and it will be seen what *wood, hay, and stubble* of *carnall policie* and *humane inventions* in *Christs* matters are put in place of the *precious stones, gold and silver* of the *Ordinances* of the most *HIGH* and only wise *God*.

The inventions of men in swerving from the true essentials of *Civill* and *Spirituall* *Commonweales*.

CHAP. CXXXVII.

Peace. **D**eare *Truth*, We are now arrived at their last Head : the Title is this, *viz.*

16. and last Head examined.

Their power in the Liberties and Priviledges of these Churches.

"First, all Magistrates ought to be chosen out of Church-members, *Exod. 18. 21. Deut. 17. 15. Prov. 29. 2.* When the Righteous rule, the people rejoyce.

"Secondly, that all free men elected, be only Church-members.

1. Because if none but Church members should rule, then others should not choose, because they may elect others beside Church members.

2. From the patterne of *Israel*, where none had power to choose but only *Israel*, or such as were joyned to the people of *God*.

3. If it shall fall out, that in the Court consisting of Magistrates and Deputies, there be a dissent between them which may hinder the common good, that they now returne for ending the same, to their first principles, which are the Free men, and let them be consulted with.

Truth. In this Head are 2 branches : First concerning the choice of *Magistrates*, that such ought to be chosen as are *Church members* : for which is quoted, *Exod. 18. 21. Deut. 17. 15. Proverbs 19. 29.*

Unto which I answer: It were to be wished, that since the point is so weighty, as concerning the *Pilots* and *Steeersmen* of *Kingdoms* and *Nations*, &c. on whose *abilitie, care* and *faithfulnessse* depends most commonly the *peace* and *safety* of the *commonweales* they sail in: I say it were to be wished that they had more fully explained what they

A great Question, *viz.* Whether only Church members (that is as is intended) Godly persons in a particular Church estate, be only eligible or to be chosen for Magistrates.

they intend by this *Affirmative*, viz. *Magistrates* ought to be chosen out of *Church members*.

For if they intend by this [*Ought to be chosen*] a *necessitie of conuenance*, viz. that for the greater advancement of *common utilitie* and *rejoycing* of the people, according to the place quoted. (*Prov.* 29. 2.) it were to be desired, prayed for, and peaceably endeavored, then I readily assent unto them.

But if by this [*Ought*] they intend such a *necessitie* as those Scriptures quoted imply, viz. that people shall sin by choosing such for *Magistrates* as are not members of *Churches*; as the *Israelites* should have sinned, if they had not (according to *Jethro's* counsell, *Exod.* 18. and according to the *command* of *God*, *Deut.* 18.) chosen their *Judges* and *Kings* within themselves in *Israel*: then I propose these necessary *Queries*.

Lawfull Civil States, where Churches of Christ are not.

The world being divided into 30 parts, 25 never heard of Christ.

First whether those are not lawfull *Civill combinations*, *societies*, and *communions* of men, in *Townes*, *Cities*, *States* or *Kingdoms*, where no *Church* of *Christ* is resident, yea where his name was never yet heard of: I adde to this, that Men of no small note, skilfull in the *State* of the *World*, acknowledge, that the *World* divided into 30 parts, 25 of that 30 have never yet heard of the name of *Christ*: If their *Civill* *polities* and *combinations* be not lawfull, (because they are not *Churches*, and their *Magistrates* *Church members*) then *disorder*, *confusion*, and all *unrighteousnes* is lawfull, and pleasing to *God*.

Lawfull heires of Crownes & Civill Government, although not Christian and godly.

Secondly, whether in such *States* or *Commonweales*, where a *Church* or *Churches* of *Christ* are resident, such persons may not lawfully succede to the *Crown* or *Government*, in whom the feare of *God* (according to *Jethro's* counsell) cannot be discerned, nor are brethren of the *Church*, according to *Deut.* 17.) but only are fitted with *Civill* and *Morall* abilities, to manage the *Civill* affaires of the *Civill State*.

Few Christians wise and noble, and qualified for affaires of State.

Thirdly, since not many *wise* and *Noble* are called, but the *poore* receive the *Gospel*, as *God* hath chosen the *poore* of the *World* to be *rich* in *Faith*, 1 *Cor.* 1. *Jam.* 2. Whether it may not ordinarily come to passe, that there may not be found in a true *Church* of *Christ* (which sometimes consisteth but of few persons) persons fit to be either *Kings* or *Governours*, &c. whose *civill* office is no lesse difficult then the office of a *Doctor* of *Physick*, a *Master* or *Pilot* of a *Ship*, or a *Captaine* or *Commander* of a *Band* or *Army* of men: for which

which services, the Children of God may be no wayes qualified, though otherwise excellent for the *fear* of God, and the *knowledge* and *Grace* of the Lord Iesus.

4. If *Magistrates* ought (that is, ought only) to be chosen out of the Church, I demand if they ought not also to be *dethroned* and *deposed*, when they cease to be of the Church, either by voluntary departure from it, or by *excommunication* out of it, according to the bloody tenents and practice of some *Papists*, with whom the *Protestants* (according to their principles) although they seeme to abhor it, doe absolutely agree?

Some Papists and some Protestants agree in deposing of Magistrates.

5. Therefore lastly, I ask if this be not to turne the *World* upside down; to turne the *World* out of the *World*, to pluck up the roots and foundations of all common societie in the *World*? to turne the *Garden* and *Paradise* of the Church and Saints into the *Field* of the *Civill State* of the *World*, and to reduce the *World* to the first *chaos* or *confusion*.

CHAP. CXXXVIII.

Peace. D EARE Truth, thou *conquere*st, and shalt *triumph* in season: but some will say, How answer you those Scriptures alledged?

Truth. I have fully and at large declared the vast differences between that holy Nation of typicall *Israel*, and all other Lands and Countries, how unmatched then and now, and never to be paralleld, but by the true *Israel* and particular Churches of Christ, residing in all parts (and under the severall civill Governments) of the world: In which Churches, the *Israel* of God, and Kingdome of Christ Iesus, such only are to be chosen spirituall Officers and Governours, to manage his *Kingly* power and *authoritie* in the Church, as are according to the Scriptures quoted, not *Pope*, *Bishops*, or *Civill powers*, but) from amongst themselves, *Brethren*, fearing God, hating covetousnesse or filthy lucre, according to those golden Rules given by the Lord Iesus, 1 Tim. 3. & Tit. 1.

Those Scriptures, Exod. 18 Deut. 17. & 18. &c. paralleld in the true spirituall *Israel*, by 1 Tim. 3. & Tit. 1.

The want of discerning this true parallel, between *Israel* in the type then, and *Israel* the antitype now, is that rock whereon (through the Lords righteous jealousy, punishing the *World*, and chastising his people) thousands dash, and make wofull Shipwrack.

The second branch, viz. that all *Freemen* elected be only *Church members*, I have before shewne to be built on that sandy and dangerous *Ground of Israels patterne*: O that it may please the *Father of Lights* to discover this to all that fear his name! then would they not sin to save a *Kingdome*, nor run into the lamentable breach of *civill peace and order in the world*, nor be guilty of forcing thousands to *Hypocrisie*, in a *State worship*, nor of *prophaning* the holy name of *God and Christ*, by putting their *Names and Ordinances* upon *uncleane and unholy persons*: nor of *shedding the blood* of such *Hereticks, &c.* whom *Christ* would have enjoy longer *patience and permission* untill the *Harvest*: nor of the *blood* of the *Lord Iesus* himselfe; in his faithfull *Witnesses of Truth*: nor lastly, of the blood of so many hundred thousands slaughtred men, women, and children, by such *uncivill and unchristian wars and combustions* about the *Christian faith and Religion*.

Peace. Deare *Truth*: before we part, I aske your faithfull helpe once more, to 2 or 3 *Scriptures*, which many alleadge, and yet we have not spoken of.

Truth. Speake on; here is some sand left in this our houre glasse of mercifull *opportunitie*: One *graine of Times* inestimable sand is worth a golden *mountaine*; let's not lose it.

The Ninevites
Fast examined

Peace. The first is that of the *Ninevites fast*, commanded by the *King of Ninevie* and his *Nobles*, upon the preaching of *Jonah*; succeeded by *Gods mercifull answer* in sparing of the *Citie*; and quote with honorable *approbation* by the *Lord Iesus Christ*, *Jonah 3. & Math. 12.*

Truth. I have before proved, that even *Jehosaphats fast* (he being *King* of that *Nationall Church* and people of *Israel*) could not possibly be a *type* or *warrant* for every *King* or *Magistrate* in the *World* (whose *Nations, Countries* or *Cities* cannot be *Churches* of *God*, now in the *Gospel*, according to *Christ Iesus*:

Much lesse can this patterne of the *King of Ninevie* and his *Nobles*, be a ground for *Kings* and *Magistrates* now, to force all their *Subjects* under them in the matters of *Worship*.

Peace. It will be said, why did *God* thus answer them?

Truth. *Gods mercy* in hearing doth not prove an *action* right and according to rule.

It pleased *God* to heare the *Israelites* cry for *Flesh*, and afterward for a *King*, given both in *anger* to them.

It pleased God to heare *Abahs* prayer, yea and the prayer of the Devils (*Luc. 8.*) although their persons and prayers in themselves abominable.

If it be said, why did *Christ* approve this example?

I answer, the Lord *Iesus Christ* did not approve the King of *Ninevies* compelling all to Worship, but the men of *Ninevies* repentance at the preaching of *Ionah*. Object.
Answ.

Peace. It will be said, what shall Kings and Magistrates now doe in the plagues of sword, famine, pestilence?

Truth. Kings and Magistrates must be considered (as formerly) invested with no more power then the people betrust them with.

But no People can betrust them with any spiritual power in matters of worship, but with a Civill power belonging to their goods and bodies.

2. Kings and Magistrates must be considered as either godly or ungodly.

If ungodly, his own and peoples duty is Repentance, and reconciling of their persons unto God, before their sacrifice can be accepted. Without Repentance what have any to doe with the covenant or promise of God? *Psal. 50.*

Againe, if Godly, they are to humble themselves, and beg mercies for themselves and people.

Secondly, upon this advantage & occasion, they are to stir up their people (as possibly they may) to Repentance: but not to force the consciences of people to worship.

If it be said, What must be attended to in this example?

Two things are most eminent in this example. Object.
Answ.

First, the great worke of Repentance, which God calls all men unto, upon the true preaching of his Word.

Secondly, the nature of that true repentance whether Legall or Evangelicall: The people of *Ninevie* turned from the violence that was in their hands: And confident I am, if this Nation shall turne (though but with a Legall repentance) from that violent persecuting or hunting each of other for Religion sake, (the greatest violence and hunting in the wilderness of the whole World) even as *Sodome* and *Gomorrhah* upon a Legall repentance, had continued untill *Christ's* day; so consequently might *England*, *London*, &c. continue free from a generall destruction (upon such a turning from their violence) untill the Heavens and the whole World be with fire consumed. How England and London may yet be spared.

Peace. The second Scripture is that speech of the *Lord Christ*, *Luc. 22. 36.* He that hath not a *sword*, let him sell his coat, and buy one.

*Luc. 22. the
selling of the
Coat, to buy a
Sword, discus-
sed.*

Truth. For the clearing of this *Scripture*, I must propose and reconcile that seeming contrary command of the *Lord Jesus* to *Peter* (*Mat. 26.*) Put up thy *sword* into his place, for all that take the *sword*, shall perish by it.

In the former *Scripture* (*Luc. 22.*) it pleased the *Lord Jesus*, speaking of his present trouble, to compare his former sending forth of his *Disciples* without scrip, &c. with that present condition and triall comming upon them, wherein they should provide both scrip and sword, &c.

Yet now, first, when they tell him of two *swords*, he answers, It is *enough*: which shewes his former meaning was not literally, but figurative; foreshewing his present danger above his former.

Secondly, in the same case at the same time (*Mat. 26.*) commanding *Peter* to put on his sword, he gives a threefold Reason thereof.

1. (*vers. 52.*) from the event of it: for all that take the sword, shall perish by it.

2. The needlesnes of it: for with a word to his *Father*, he could have 12 legions of *Angels*.

3. The councell of *God* to be fulfilled in the *Scripture*: Thus it ought to be.

Peace. It is much questioned by some, what should be the meaning of *Christ Jesus* in that speech, All that take the sword, shall perish by the sword.

A threefold
taking of the
Sword.

Truth. There is a threefold taking of the sword: First, by *murderous crueltie*, either of private persons, or secondly, *publike States* or *Societies*, in wrath or revenge each against other.

Secondly, a just and righteous taking of the sword in punishing offenders against the *Civill peace*, either more *personall*, private and ordinary; or more *publike*, Oppressors, Tyrants, Ships, Navies, &c. Neither of these can it be imagined that *Christ Jesus* intended to *Peter*.

Thirdly, There is therefore a 3. taking of the sword, forbidden to *Peter*, that is, for *Christ* and the *Gospels* cause, when *Christ* is in danger: which made *Peter* strike, &c.

Peace. It seemes to some most contrary to all true Reason, that
Christ

Christ Jesus, Innocencie it selfe, should not be defended.

Truth. The foolishnes of *God* is wiser then the wisdom of *Man*.

It is not the purpose of *God*, that the Spirituall *bastiles* of his *Son* shall be fought by *carnall weapons* and *persons*.

It is not his pleasure that the *World* shall flame on fire with *civill combustions*, for his *Sons* sake. It is directly contrary to the *nature* of *Christ Jesus*, his *Saints* and *Truths*, that *throats* of men (which is the highest *contrarietie* to *civill converse*) should be torne out for his sake, who most delighted to converse with the greatest sinners.

It is the councell of *God*, that his servants shall overcome by 3 *weapons*, of a spirituall nature, *Revel. 12. 11*. And that all that take the *sword* of Steele, shall perish.

Lastly, it is the Councell of *God*, that *Christ Jesus* shall shortly appeare a most glorious *Iudge* and *Revenger* against all his *Enemies*, when the *Heavens* and the *Earth* shall flee before his most glorious presence.

Peace. I shall propose the last *Scripture* much insisted on by many, for carnall weapons in spirituall cases, *Revel. 17. 16*. The 10 *hornes* which thou sawest upon the *Beast*, these shall hate the *whore*, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her *flesh*, and shall burne her with *fire*.

Revel. 17. 16.
the Kings hating of the
Whore, dis-
fused.

Truth. Not to controvert with some, whether or no the *Beast* be yet risen and extant.

Nor secondly, whether either the *Beast*, or the *Hornes*, or the *Whore* may be taken literally for any corporall *Beast* or *Whore*.

Or thirdly, whether these 10 *Hornes* be punctually and exactly 10 *Kings*.

Or fourthly, whether those 10 *Hornes* signifie those many *Kings*, *Kingdomes*, and *Governments*, who have bowed down to the *Popes* yoke, and have committed fornication with that great *Whore* the *Church of Rome*.

Let this last be admitted (which yet will cost some work to cleer against all opposites:) Yet,

First, can the *Time* be now clearly demonstrated to be come, &c?

Secondly, how will it be proved, that this hatred of this *Whore* shall be a true, *chaste*, *Christian* hatred against *Antichristian* *whorish* practices, &c?

Thirdly, or rather that this *hating* and *desolating* and *making naked* and *burning* shall arise, not by way of an ordinance warranted by the institution of *Christ Jesus*, but by way of providence when (as it useth to be with all *whores* and their *lovers*) the *Church of Rome* and her great *lovers* shall fall out, and by the righteous vengeance of *God* upon her, drunke with the *blood* of *Saints* or holy *Ones*, these mighty *fornicators* shall turne their *love* into *hatred*, which *hatred* shall make her a poore desolate naked *Whore*, torne and consumed, &c.

Peace. You know it is a great controversie how the *Kings* of the *Earth* shall thus deale with the *Whore* in the 17 Chap. and yet so bewaile her in the 18 Chapter.

Truth. If we take it that these *Kings* of the *Earth* shall first *hate*, and *plunder*, and *teare*, and *burne* this *Whore*, and yet afterward shall relent and bewaile their cruell dealing toward her : Or else, that as some *Kings* deale so terribly with her, yet others of those *Kings* shall bewaile her.

If either of these two answers stand, 'or a better be given, yet none of them can prove it lawfull for people to give power to their *Kings* and *Magistrates* thus to deale with them their subjects for their *conscience*; nor for *Magistrates* to assume a title more then the people betrust them with; nor for one people out of *conscience* to *God*, and for *Christ* his sake, thus to kill and slaughter and burne each other : However it may please the Righteous Judge, according to the famous types of *Gideons* and *Jehosaphats* battells, to permit in *justice*, and to order in *wisdome* these mighty and mutuall slaughters each of other.

Peace. We have now (deare *Truth*) through the gracious hand of *God* clambered up to the top of this our tedious Discourse.

Truth. O 'tis mercy unexpressible that either *Thou* or *I* have had so long a breathing time, and that together !

Peace. If *English* ground must yet be drunk with *English* blood; O where shall *Peace* repose her wearied head and heavy heart ?

Truth. Deare *Peace*, if thou finde welcome, and the *God* of *peace* miraculously please to quench these all-devouring flames, yet where shall *Truth* finde rest from cruell persecutions ?

Peace. Oh, will not the *Authority* of holy *Scriptures*, the *Commands* and *Declarations* of the *Sonne* of *God*, therein produced by thee, together with all the lamentable *experiences* of former and pre-

present slaughters prevaile with the Sons of *Men* (especially with the *Sons of Peace*) to depart from the *dens* of *Lyons*, and mountaines of *Leopards*, and to put on the *bowels* (if not of *Christianitie*, yet) of *Humanitie* each to other !

Truth. Deare *Peace*, *Habacuck* Fishes keep their constant bloody game of *Persecutions* in the Worlds mighty *Ocean* ; the greater taking , plundering , swallowing up the lesser : O happy he whose portion is the *God* of *Jacob* ! who hath nothing to lose under the *Sun*, but hath a *State*, a *House*, an *Inheritance*, a *Name*, a *Crowne*, a *Life*, past all the *Plunderers*, *Ravishers*, *Murderers* reach and furie ! *Peace*. But loe ! Who's here ?

Truth. Our Sister *Patience*, whose desired company is as needfull as delightfull : 'Tis like the *Wolfe* will send the scattered *Sheep* in one : the common *Pirate* gathers up the loose and scattered *Navie* : the slaughter of the *Witnesses* by that bloody *Beast* unite the *Independents* and *Presbyterians*. The *God* of *Peace*, the *God* of *Truth* will shortly seale this *Truth*, and confirme this *Witness*, and make it evident to the whole *World*,

That the Doctrine of *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*, is most evidently and lamentably contrary to the doctrine of *Christ Iesus* the *Prince of Peace*. Amen.

F I N I S .

Errata.

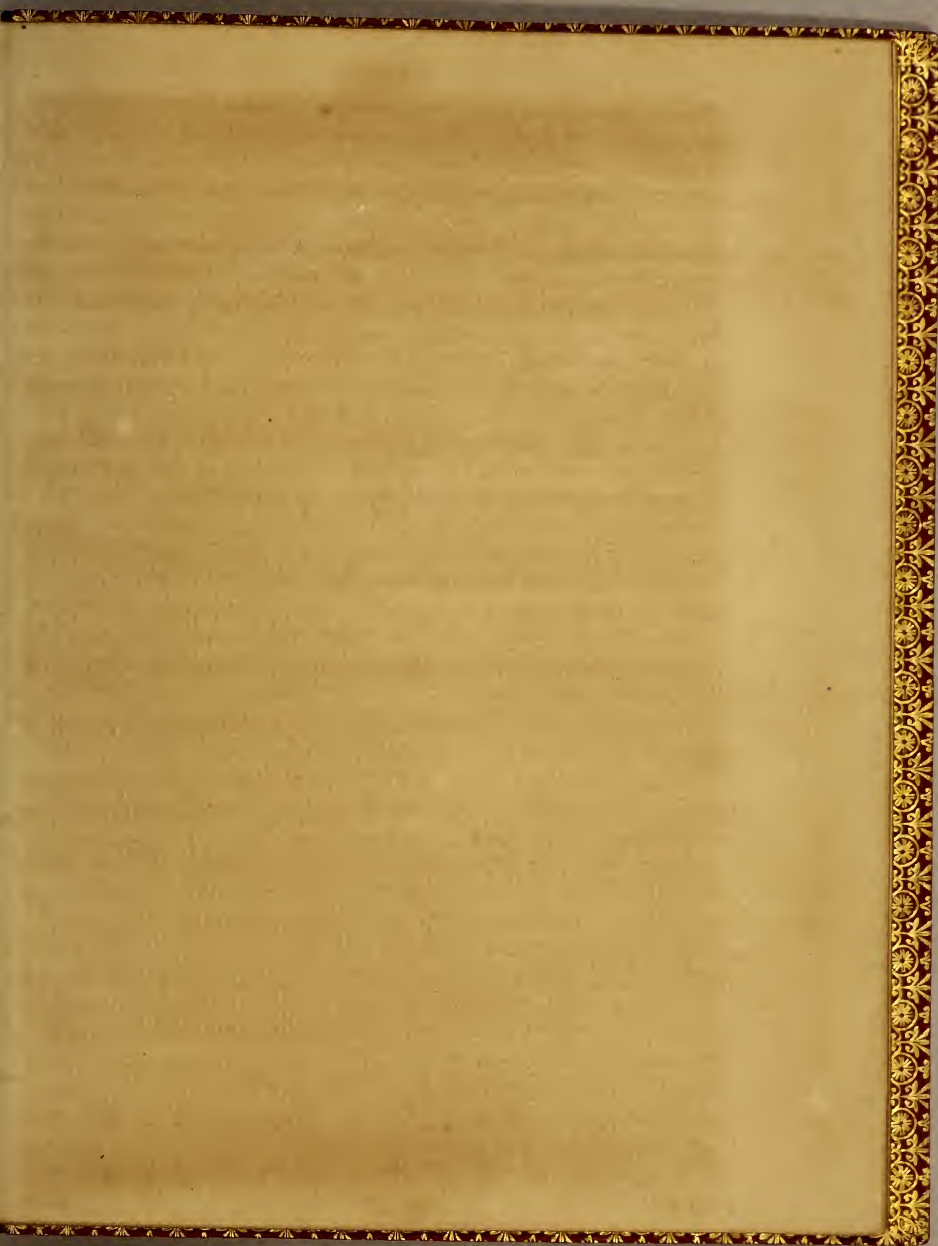
Page 23. line 28. for this, read that. p. 31. l. ult. his soule. p. 32. l. 12. read mouth. ibid. r. person. p. 35. l. 16. r. turned off, or loosed from. p. 37. l. 8. for to, read doe. p. 38 l. 2. dele affirme. p. 41. l. 22. his perilous soule. p. 43. l. 20. r. or l. ult. Answerer. p. 44. l. 28. be closer. p. 49. l. 1. last p. 57. l. 22. cut. l. 24. l. firme in Justice. p. 58. l. 5. the lying. p. 98. l. 6. read, or doe these p. 114. l. 29. r. the 31 question. p. 119 l. 10. members. p. 139. l. 9. immunitie. p. 161. l. 28. or Christ. p. 214. l. 36. doe shall. p. 225. l. 19. the Churches of God. 225. l. 25. nor might not.

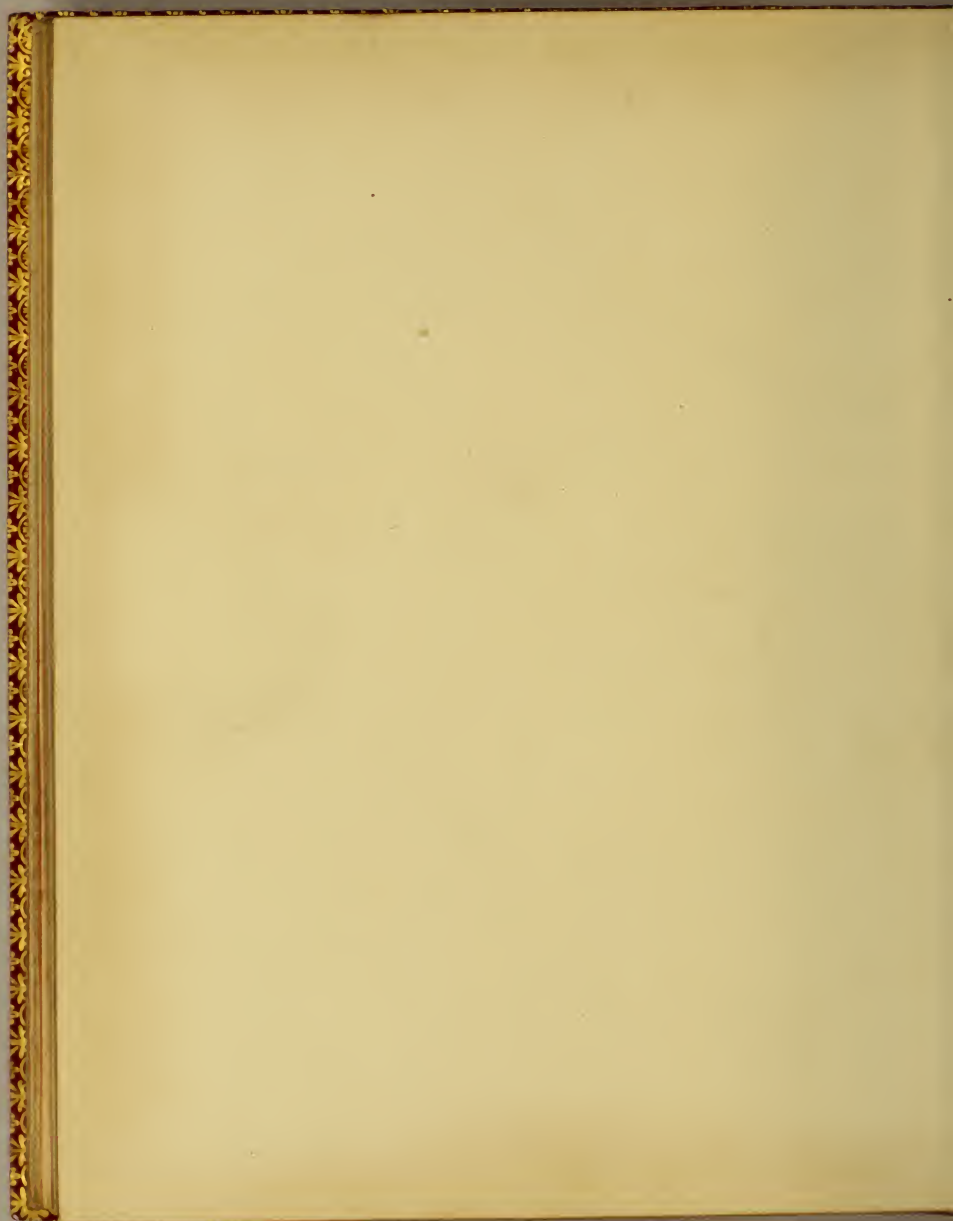
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